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Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 635
EDITORIALS:
An Unemployment Program 638
Competition and Trusts 639
The Russian Giant 639
The Sins of New York 640
FIGHTING UNEMPLOYMENT. I. ORGANIZING THE LABOR MARKET. By Henry Raymond Mussey 641
SAVE THE CHILDREN. By Florence Kelley 643
LOANS AND REVOLUTIONS. By Drew Pearson 644
SOUTHERN WOMEN ATTACK LYNCHING. By Willie Snow Ethridge 647
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 650
CORRESPONDENCE 651
BOOKS, FILMS, DRAMA:
Suicide by Drowning. By Louise Townsend Nicholl 652
Modern Architecture. By Henry Hazlitt 652
"Czar" Reed. By Louis M. Hacker 653
This Mathematical Universe. By Maynard Shipley 653
Short Stories by Novelists. By Florence Codman 654
The Hoosier Poet. By C. Hartley Grattan 655
Books in Brief 655
Films: The Travel Picture. By Alexander Bakshy 657
Drama: The Third Mrs. Tanqueray. By Heywood Broun 658
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
The British Empire in Conference. By J. A. Hobson 662
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 662

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD,* Editor
HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY, Managing Editor
Associate Editors
DOROTHY VAN DOREN FREDA KIRCHWEY
MAURITZ A. HALLGREN ARTHUR WARNER
Dramatic Editor JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
Literary Editor HENRY HAZLITT
Contributing Editors
JOHN A. HOBSON HEYWOOD BROUN H. L. MENCKEN
NORMAN THOMAS LEWIS S. GANNETT CARL VAN DOREN
MARK VAN DOREN LUDWIG LEWISOHN
DAVID BOEHM, Advertising Manager

* Absent in Europe.

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IN HIS SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE to Congress Mr. Hoover has again failed miserably to apply the constructive leadership and scientific statesmanship which in 1928 were widely advertised as his principal qualifications for the Presidency. The message offers nothing in the way of valuable advice to either Congress or the country. Mr. Hoover admits that "during the past twelve months we have suffered with other nations from economic depression," and he contends that "the number of those wholly out of employment seeking for work was accurately determined by the census last April as about 2,500,000." He devotes a third of his message to a casual examination of this situation, applauding himself for the little work he has done toward relieving the unemployment strain. But aside from approving Senator Wagner's suggestion that a public-construction program be launched to take up the employment slack, he appears wholly unable or unwilling to suggest to Congress any means whereby it might help to correct our economic deficiencies or solve our unemployment problem.

ON THE OTHER GREAT public questions of the day Mr. Hoover is equally noncommittal or meaningless. He dismisses the power issue with an inconsequential recommendation for "effective regulation of interstate electrical power"; he urges an inquiry into the "economic working" of the anti-trust laws, but he has no solution to suggest for remedying the inequities that have arisen under the application of these laws; he confesses to some knowledge of the plight in which the farmers find themselves, and declares that the government would "meet its full obligation" to the farmers by lending them money with which to buy seed and feed for animals; he temporizes on the immigration question, urging that the present laws be made more flexible and declaring that "the whole subject requires exhaustive reconsideration." He lists "Muscle Shoals, bus regulation, relief of congestion in the courts, reorganization of border patrol in prevention of smuggling, law enforcement in the District of Columbia, and other subjects," as among the measures awaiting final disposition in the short session of Congress, and adds that "it is desirable that these measures should be completed." But he makes no attempt to guide Congress as to how it should act upon these questions. As to prohibition and similar measures which are likely to affect his personal political fortunes, he says nothing whatever. The whole message is weighted down with timidity and indecision, where courage and boldness were needed.

THE WORLD COURT PROTOCOL is to come before the Senate at last, notwithstanding Mr. Hoover's noncommittal allusion to it in his Armistice Day speech and the possibility that its submission at this time may clog the legislative wheels in the Senate and necessitate an early session of the new Congress. We doubt if Mr. Hoover, or anybody else except a small group of embattled propagandists, cares very much about the World Court now or is particularly anxious to see the United States a member of it, but Mr. Hoover has probably done rather well politically to get the matter off his hands. He held back the protocol while the London naval conference was on the air so as not to interfere with that program, and he has kept it by him until it was clear that the Geneva disarmament debate was not likely to come to anything. Now he turns it over to the Senate, and if the Senate chooses to reject it, or uses it to embarrass the other business of the short session, it will not be his fault; while if by chance it should be ratified, the event can be represented as a diplomatic success offsetting some rather conspicuous failures in the domestic field. We have already said that the much-praised Root formula seemed to us only a piece of word-juggling, and we see no reason to change that opinion.

THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE COMMITTEE has not been particularly happy in its choice of American recipients of the prize. Viewed in retrospect, neither President Roosevelt, who was awarded the prize in 1906, nor President Wilson, who was similarly distinguished in 1919, appears to have contributed notably to world peace, and Ambassador Dawes, who joined the list in 1925, had no more to do with the actual framing of the reparations plan that bears his name than had others of his associates in

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the undertaking. The selection of Frank B. Kellogg for the award as of 1929 in recognition of his services in originating and carrying through the Kellogg-Briand anti-war pact was probably inevitable after a previous award to M. Briand, but it nevertheless singles out for honor a man whose career in American politics is inseparably associated with reaction, and whose efforts to explain that reservations—or "interpretations," as he preferred to call them—made by any nation before the pact was accepted did not really mean anything are creditable only to his legal ingenuity. For his insistence, however, while the phraseology of the pact was being discussed, that the proposed renunciation should not be limited to aggressive war, and his firm stand against making the United States a party to any alliance or agreement to enforce peace by arms, he is entitled to commendation, and if his share in an undertaking whose obligation makes strange reading in the light of French militarism and American naval building appears to the administrators of the Nobel prize worthy of heralding, the United States can stand it.

SENATOR ROBINSON of Arkansas is reported as having made "a working agreement" with Mr. Hoover in the matter of the adoption of a program of legislative procedure for the short session of Congress, particularly in connection with measures intended to overcome the business depression and unemployment. However commendable this may be for the moment, Mr. Robinson has thereby betrayed his position as leader of the Senate minority. Under our party system of government the minority theoretically acts as a check upon the majority. In ordinary times this check may not be so necessary, but in extraordinary times like the present it is essential that it be exercised to its fullest extent. The theory that there must be no opposition in periods of stress, but that party lines and principles must be submerged in the interest of the common good, is exactly the theory upon which European dictatorships have been built.

A WASHINGTON DISPATCH forecasts the plan reported to be agreed on by President Hoover's committee for the transfer of the public lands to the States in which they are located. The plan, it is said, represents a compromise between Secretary Wilbur's original proposal to transfer only the surface rights and the demand of the public-land States that the subsurface rights as well be included. At the time of the President's original suggestion in the summer of 1929 we pointed out the dangers involved: "Give the States the surface rights today, and tomorrow for the same reasons you may give them the mineral rights, the power rights, and the forests." If the tentative proposals published do not arouse the storm of protest that we hope they will stir up, then we shall apparently not have to wait for tomorrow to see the beginning of the fulfilment of our forecast. The last two proposals are for "interstate agreements covering water control and elimination of theories of federal ownership and control, with dismissal of all pending cases predicated upon such policies" and "recognition of State sovereignty in dealing with control, development, and utilization of resources." Will those Americans who remember the fundamental importance of controlling natural resources sit by calmly while the Hoover Administration relinquishes control of their remaining land heritage?

AN EXTENSIVE PROGRAM is being prepared for Congressional enactment by the Association of Railway Executives, representing all the Class I railroads. According to Mr. Charles C. Paulding, vice-president of the New York Central lines, the program will include extension of the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission to coastwise steamship lines, authorization of the railroads to operate steamships coastwise and on the Great Lakes and also to operate buses and trucks, regulation of interstate passenger-bus operation and imposition of bus and truck licensing fees adequate to meet the costs of maintaining highways, and application to pipelines of the restriction now resting on railroads against transporting commodities of which they are the owners, thus requiring the oil companies to divest themselves of the pipelines. The Transportation Act of 1920 was hailed as a great constructive measure for the stabilization of railroad income and the consequent improvement of service. Motor competition, however, has cut deeply into traffic. Freight carried increased by 62.2 per cent from 1910 to 1920, but only by 8.8 per cent from 1920 to 1929, while passenger traffic, which grew by 46.5 per cent during the first-named decade, actually fell by 34.2 per cent during the second nine years. Our effort to combine private operation and competition with some sort of assured return to railroad-security holders is being subjected to a severe test, and the net result is likely to be to hasten the inevitable day of government operation.

MR. HOOVER has refused to submit to the dictation of the American Federation of Labor in selecting a new Secretary of Labor. He has named William N. Doak, legislative agent of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, to the post just vacated by James J. Davis. Mr. Hoover was unquestionably right in administering this rebuff to the federation. Neither this organization nor any other has a monopoly on any of the public offices in this country. President Green's contention that Mr. Doak stands "outside the recognized American labor movement" is, of course, buncombe of the most puerile sort. Mr. Doak's record shows that he is just as much a part of the reactionary labor aristocracy, which finds its widest expression in the A. F. of L., as any candidate Mr. Green might have found among his followers. We believe that the new Secretary of Labor will serve quite as usefully and ably as did the humble iron puddler who preceded him. What we question is the wisdom of choosing a legislative agent, or lobbyist, to give him his proper title, as the new Secretary. Mr. Hoover probably could have found a more truly national leader of labor than is this man who has long been identified with one of the most conservative wings of the labor movement.

A STRIKE has been in progress in the Danville, Virginia, textile district since September 29, when 4,000 workers walked out, protesting the "stretch-out" system and maintaining the right to organize. The Danville mills are widely known for their welfare work and their system of "industrial democracy," and the strike is more or less a test of strength between the mill owners and the United Textile Workers, the organization conducting the strike. Early in the struggle Judge Turner Clement issued an injunction which recognized the right of peaceable persuasion, but forbade pick-

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ets from going on mill property. When the mill management sought to have mill executives deputized to guard the property, Judge Clement wisely refused, holding local police protection sufficient, and the police officials have managed until recently to maintain cordial relations with both sides. During the last week of November, disorders which the strikers attributed to strike-breakers and Communists "employed by the management" broke out, and the local authorities declared themselves unable to keep order, whereupon Governor Pollard ordered 600 members of the Virginia National Guard to Danville, to stay as long as needed. An earlier offer of the Governor for arbitration of the questions at issue was declined by H. R. Fitzgerald, president of the mills, and the invitation of Secretary Davis to Mr. Fitzgerald to go to church with the godly Secretary on Sunday, November 30, "and then meet in Christian fellowship around the conference table in the afternoon" has yielded no tangible results. The strikers appear to have acted with unusual self-restraint and the authorities with uncommon fairness. We hope that the stubborn resistance of the management may not result in the starving out of the strikers in their admirable fight for the elementary right of organization.

THE REFUSAL, by the Supreme Court of California, to recommend a pardon for Warren K. Billings, convicted with Tom Mooney in the Preparedness Day bombings fourteen years ago, does not, unfortunately, come as a surprise. The history of the case, and the attitude taken by responsible State officials from the Governor down, could not have inspired hope except in the most determined of optimists. Last summer after pardon for Billings had been first denied, when the supposedly perjured testimony of John MacDonald, prosecution witness in the trial, was reviewed before the court, it was evident that the sympathy of the jurists was not with the two convicted men. The case against them, which has been open on the books for fourteen years, has not closed but entered a new phase. California will in January have a new governor; it will in time have a new court; there will be other petitions, other reviews, other examinations, perhaps, of witnesses and testimony. Meanwhile Mooney and Billings will remain in jail—whether for knowing who threw a bomb, for throwing another bomb maybe in another place, or merely for being workers and organizers in the labor movement and therefore unwelcome to the capitalists of the State of California. The creed of the latter is simple: The only good Indian is a dead Indian; the only good labor agitator is a labor agitator in jail.

POLAND UNDER PILSUDSKI continues to play the part of the bad boy of Europe. Only recently Polish troops began a reign of terror against the Ruthenians of Eastern Galicia. Since then this method of attempting to instil patriotic love for Poland into the breasts of minority peoples has been tried upon the Germans of Polish Upper Silesia. In connection with the elections to the provincial Sejm, mobs of Poles, abetted by the Polish police and other local authorities, sought to intimidate German voters by attacking them in the streets or by entering their homes and smashing their furniture. Six persons were killed in the rioting. Despite the terrorism the Pilsudski candidates won only 19 of the 48 seats in the provincial Sejm. Berlin has announced that it will demand that the League Council institute a thorough investigation. Clearly the fault is not wholly Poland's. There is also much uncontrolled bitterness and there are any number of hot-heads on the German side of the line. Furthermore, the German fascist motion introduced in the Reichstag asking that a volunteer patrol of 1,000 men be stationed along the border to "quell Polish excesses" will not go far toward establishing goodwill. Yet the evidence at hand puts the major share of the blame upon Poland. Pilsudski, whose position at home is none too secure, should be awakened to the extreme peril of playing with fire along the German border, which is one of the sorest of the sore spots of Europe.

MOTHER JONES waited to round out her century before she died. And although she spent the last of her hundred years in bed, she was not without her old fire. She could talk vigorously—and profanely—to visitors; she could make peace with John D. Rockefeller, one of her old enemies; she could keep up with the American labor movement which had engaged her energy and her passions for sixty years. When she was thirty-seven, a yellow-fever epidemic killed her husband, an iron molder, and her four children. By 1870 she had begun to devote herself to the cause of labor, beginning with the striking employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the miners in West Virginia, who were in the midst of their fierce struggles to organize. She was a tireless speaker, the typical "labor agitator," who held the cause of the workingman nearer her heart than any other. Her personal reward came when President Taft asked her to the White House to discuss labor problems; but more reward than that was a strike honestly won, or bad working conditions decently ameliorated. Though she was a fighter and a woman she was opposed to woman suffrage; though she was a reformer and a woman she hated prohibition and never lost an opportunity to take a fling at it; though she was a labor leader she was unqualifiedly averse to socialism. She leaves no successor with half her courage or her fire.

"LADY CHATTERLEY'S LOVER" was not admitted to this country during D. H. Lawrence's lifetime. The book was too vile for our customs authorities. It was never, in consequence, granted an American copyright. As a result there are now at least four editions of the book in the American market—first, bootlegged copies of the authentic Italian edition; second, bootlegged copies of a pirated edition printed in America; third, bootlegged copies of an authorized French edition; and, finally, a pirated edition, printed here, sufficiently bowdlerized and emasculated to get past the postal authorities and the local police. This last edition is now being sold in otherwise reputable bookstores, and advertisements for it have been accepted by otherwise reputable newspapers. Presumably the authorities will do nothing about it, for the four-letter words which they find so horrifying when they see them in print are not in the present book as they were in Lawrence's original story. The present novel, therefore, is not "immoral"; it is merely an act of robbery. We trust, however, that the bookstores as a whole will have enough self-respect not to act as receivers of stolen goods.

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An Unemployment Program

WHAT shall we do about unemployment? The question reechoes today through almost every country on earth except Russia, which, in the midst of an incredibly swift industrialization under a unified plan of operation, suffers a shortage of man power. Here in the United States we have refused to face the question, but we can refuse no longer.

As a result of our shameful neglect, our first thought must be simply relief of immediate suffering. That means improvised jobs and, despite all pious phrases, charity. By this time we have committees enough to coordinate this, and cooperate in that, and in general to urge somebody else to do something. Now let everyone who can give generously, and let our private relief organizations administer the funds carefully and generously. The States and cities, too, must give—direct appropriations for unemployment relief where necessary, in close cooperation with existing agencies, in order to reduce the inevitable waste and graft to a minimum. The Mayor of New York calls for $2,000,000 a month to take care of 40,000 out of the 46,000 unemployed families shown by the police census. It represents but a fraction of the known need. The Emergency Committee for Public Works is demanding a federal bond issue of $1,000,000,000 for public works essentially as a relief measure. Let the armories be open, with proper sleeping facilities, for homeless men. Let us do the work of "relief" thoroughly, as penance for our social sins, and then let us turn our thoughts to measures of prevention for the future.

First, we must organize the labor market. We need a national system of public labor exchanges. Many cities and States have organized exchanges, but city and State action cannot meet the problem, however helpful such action may be locally. We urge that the States immediately indicate their purpose to take advantage of the federal subsidy to State exchanges proposed in the Wagner bill, if and when enacted, with the understanding that uniform procedures will be developed with a view to incorporation in a genuinely national system. Congress ought without delay to pass the Wagner bill, unemasculated by the House amendments, and to make generous appropriations for the statistical and placement activities of the national employment service cooperating with those of the States. With a real national system of exchanges set up and functioning effectively, we can with some hope of success again raise the question of abolishing private agencies, and clearing all labor through a unified, free public system.

Thus we should move straight forward to unemployment insurance. Voluntary private plans will never cover more than a fraction of the workers, and we must not be diverted from the real task by any idea that they will meet the need. The United States ought to utilize the rich European experience, and side by side with labor exchanges develop compulsory public-insurance plans on an actuarial basis, with employers, employees, and the government contributing, perhaps equally, and with benefits held strictly within actual insurance limits. If extraordinary unemployment at any time makes it necessary to go beyond those limits, let the State meet the whole cost and not ask the insurance system to carry an impossible load. Under our conditions, we believe that such action would rarely be necessary. If anyone criticizes this extension as a "dole" let him suggest something better, or else admit his preference for charity.

In the present constitutional position, how can the federal government do its duty in respect to insurance? It can certainly, on the subsidy principle, offer to match State funds for insurance, dollar for dollar, again with a view to a national system in which State systems would ultimately be merged. The money for that purpose ought to come, in first instance, from higher income surtaxes and estate taxes. The 15,780 persons who in 1928 had incomes above $100,000 received in all $4,903,000,000 and paid income and surtaxes of $700,000,000, or a little more than 14 per cent. To raise this figure to 25 per cent (an extremely moderate rate) would make a half-billion dollars annually available to subsidize State insurance systems, and would be a trifling move in the direction of reducing that inequality of distribution which now imperils our economic and social system. We could thus take the first step toward a national insurance scheme.

Organization of the labor market and unemployment insurance by themselves will not solve the problem of unemployment, as the experience of Great Britain and Germany since the war indicates. In fact, insurance may be so handled as to increase the number of men out of work. The great preventive of unemployment is the stabilization of industry, and both publicly and privately we must use every possible means to that end. Our most powerful single agency, the Federal Reserve System, prostituted under the present and the preceding Administration to purposes of stock gambling and political advantage, must in future be used primarily for stability. There are possibilities, exaggerated in recent discussions, in the long-time planning of public works. Let both federal and State governments now draw up carefully studied plans of needed public improvements, extending over, say, ten years or more; let them secure the necessary bond authorizations; and then let the less pressing items be held back against the next period of hard times. Something can be done thus. The major task, however—that of keeping fundamental industries running on an even keel—requires planning and action on a nation-wide and a world-wide scale. The conquest of unemployment requires not only a national economic council to organize a planned national economy, but an international economic conference to work out the methods of international organization and control essential to a stable world industrial order. Today certain short-sighted captains of industry and finance and their political satellites all over the world bedevil all efforts at national and international organization that threaten to interfere in any way with their pursuit of profits. They may be well assured that the success of their endeavors will spell disaster; for unless the industrial leaders and the political rulers of the Western World can find a way to stabilize industry and get rid of the miseries of unemployment, the men who work and suffer will some day overturn their rule. If we do not want communism, let us abolish unemployment.

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Competition and Trusts

IT cannot be said that the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the motion-picture cases have done much to rid our federal anti-trust policy of its complexities. To be sure, the case against the defendant corporations was reasonably clear under the Sherman act. Ten of the largest producers and distributors of films, controlling 60 per cent of the business in the country, had adopted a standard form of contract with exhibitors, and then combined through thirty-two film boards of trade with other distributors who with themselves controlled 98 per cent of the entire business. One of the features of the contract was a provision for compulsory arbitration before the film boards of trade of disputes between distributors and exhibitors. The agreement appears to have been voluntary with those who originated it, and its provisions were the result of six years of discussion and experiment, but exhibitors who were opposed to the contract found themselves compelled to sign it in order to obtain films. In the case of a group headed by First National Pictures, the practice of cutting off the supply of films from motion-picture houses which did not post security with credit committees of the film boards of trade when the ownership of a theater was transferred was also found to be coercive.

Under these circumstances, the court had no difficulty in holding that the standard contract and rules of arbitration were not such "normal and usual agreements in aid of trade and commerce" as the courts have been inclined to tolerate, and that "unusual arrangements," entered into "under the guise of arbitration," which "unreasonably suppress normal competition" could not escape the charge of illegality. Nor was it necessary to show, the court held, in order to establish violation of the Sherman act, that the arrangement suppressed all competition or that the parties were discontented with it. "The interest of the public in the preservation of competition," the court declared, "is the primary consideration. The prohibitions of the state cannot be evaded by good motives. The law is its own measure of right and wrong, of what it permits or forbids, and the judgment of the courts cannot be set up against it in a supposed accommodation of its policy with the good intention of parties and, it may be, of some good results."

The sweeping pronouncement is reported to have raised in some quarters the question whether the court has not here abandoned the "rule of reason" which it invented some years ago in order to allow "good" trusts to go on while leaving "bad" ones by the wayside. As a matter of fact, it appears to have embraced both horns of the dilemma. In the same breath in which Justice McReynolds declares that the Sherman act "seeks to protect the public against evils commonly incident to the *unreasonable* destruction of competition" he also affirms that the judgment of the courts cannot be set up against a law which is "its own measure of . . . what it permits or forbids." What would have happened if there had been no element of compulsion in the case is, of course, guesswork, but a decision which speaks of the statutory proscription as if the word "reasonable" were a part of it, which it is not, and then appears to adjudge the case according to the strict letter of the law, obviously does not indicate which way the court is likely to jump when its judgment is again invoked.

Undoubtedly the whole question of trust regulation bristles with difficulty. The particular evils which the Sherman act aimed to meet have largely ceased to exist, but there is nevertheless a widespread feeling that unless competition is preserved the business of the country will shortly be controlled by monopolies and the consumer will have to pay all that the traffic will bear. On the other hand, it is obvious that the trend of a machine age is toward centralization and consolidation, and that the field of effective and profitable competition is everywhere being narrowed. The rigid prohibition of the Sherman act is unquestionably a bar to the formation of trusts whose operations, from most points of view at least, represent a natural economic development, but the difficulty is not wisely met by allowing the courts to usurp legislative power by reading into the statute a qualification that is not there, nor by permitting the Department of Justice to grant a tentative immunity from prosecution by saying in advance that a proposed combination is in its eyes objectionable.

There are weighty objections to repealing the Sherman act altogether and leaving the trusts to go on unchecked. Small business men would have less chance than ever of keeping their heads above water, and the exactions of the trusts, as well as their influence in politics, would not be long in becoming intolerable. There is no reason, however, why the act should not be amended to make it conform to the facts of changed economic conditions. To straddle the issue as the United States has long been doing means no good to anybody.

The Russian Giant

OUR ultra-patriots in Washington are hammering away again at the Russian menace. They have succeeded in persuading the Treasury to change its policy with regard to the importation of Russian products, but this has not satisfied them. Their ultimate goal is legislation that will effectively and unmistakably bar all Russian goods from the United States market, and they appear prepared to go to any absurd length to achieve this end.

It was rather surprising that the new Treasury regulations should not have sufficed to appease these superpatriots. Certainly under the order the Commissioner of Customs can with little stretch of the imagination keep out any Russian commodity the importation of which might in any way annoy or injure American business interests. Section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930 prohibits the importation of convict-made goods. The new regulations throw the burden of proof upon the importer when a shipment is challenged (and such a challenge can be issued by any interested person in the United States). The importer must furnish a certificate from the shipper or seller setting forth that the merchandise in question is not the product of convict labor. Even then the customs officials need not admit the goods in question if "the commissioner [of customs] decides that the merchandise was mined, produced, or manufactured, wholly or in part, by convict labor." Thus the Commissioner of Customs is clothed with arbitrary power to prohibit the importa-

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tion, if he deems it proper or politic, of whatever goods may be challenged.

Both Mr. Hoover and Mr. Mellon have endeavored to make it appear that the Treasury order was not directed primarily against Russian products. This may, of course, be true, but it is extremely difficult to see how any other interpretation can be placed on the order after all the recent agitation against the admission of Russian timber, pulpwood, coal, and manganese ore. There has been no agitation against the acceptance of the merchandise of any other country on the ground that it was or might be the product of convict labor. Mr. Hoover has been represented as wishing to avoid a trade conflict with Russia and as having expressed the hope that economic relations with the Soviet Union would continue. Obviously, American trade with Russia, which in the period from October, 1929, to March, 1930, involved exports from the United States amounting to $64,000,000, and imports totaling $10,000,000, is something worth preserving. But the President cannot hope to have Russia continue to buy in this country if the government insists upon hampering Russian sales here, even though Mr. Hoover attempts to soothe Moscow with the suggestion that the Treasury regulations are not directed against Russian goods alone.

Difficult as it may be for Russian goods to get over the new Treasury barrier, the Wolls and the Oddies and the others want still more effective restrictions. They want a complete embargo, no matter what its effect on the Russian trade Mr. Hoover desires to preserve. They paint terrifying pictures of a Russian economic conspiracy; they accuse Moscow of seeking to wreck the American home and undermine our national defenses by its sales in this country. They are resorting to every questionable kind of argument to make more effective their appeal to the average American through his pocketbook, through his family instinct, and through his sense of patriotism. The same specious arguments are being turned upon Congress. These anti-reds are ostensibly demanding protection against the dumping of either Russian goods or Russian propaganda into this country. They actually are demanding that the Russian problem be legislated out of existence.

Nothing could be more futile. Russian success or failure depends upon the Russians themselves, not upon the character of a few domestic laws that may be adopted by the United States. If Russia fails, the sound and fury now issuing out of Washington will not have contributed to its downfall. If success is the Soviets' lot, we shall be confronted with a real Russian problem that cannot be held back by customs embargoes. The permanent establishment of communism along the lines Lenin dreamed of will provide an alluring goal for our own working classes unless we do something to augment their comforts, increase their contentment, and eliminate the many economic and social inequities under which they are now laboring. Moreover, the Soviet state, through its trade monopoly, will offer the severest sort of competition to private American traders in the foreign field, not only in the marketing of raw materials, to which Russian foreign trade is now primarily confined, but also in the sale of manufactured products. That is the real Russian problem. Embargoes will not solve it. Only by bringing our own house into order can we hope successfully to compete with this great giant who is rising in the East.

The Sins of New York

UNDER the above title Edward Van Every writes running comment for illustrations taken copiously from the immortal *Police Gazette* in its best days. Under the title of "Peter Arno's Hullabaloo" Mr. Arno draws his own pictures and writes his own comment—or leaves it out when it is superfluous—his subject being substantially the same: the sins of New York, not in 1845 or somewhat later, but in this particular year of grace.

At first glance they would seem to be very different kinds of sins, but careful scrutiny reveals the fact that they do not differ so much after all. Only the emphasis is different. In the *Police Gazette* New Yorkers saw their city shown up for the dangerous woman she was. There were Predatory Females who preyed on an unsuspecting gentleman out for a good time. They befuddled him with wine and stole his watch and chain; they met him in the park and robbed him after he had succumbed to their blandishments; they lured him to gambling dens, they entertained him lavishly in dance halls, they did not scruple to betray by their wiles, if they could, the clergy or the statesman. In the course of all this, there was occasion for a display of feminine curves that filled the eye of the beholder, while the tone of the picture and its moral emphasis soothed him for the pleasure he got out of looking.

Mr. Arno, of course, draws under another sky altogether. A well-turned ankle in a high-buttoned boot is no longer enough to satisfy a population surfeited with pictures of ladies in negligee. Mr. Arno's ladies disclose sections of their anatomy that would have made even a hardened Police Gazeteer turn the page with a blush. But they are no less predatory. They do not, it is true, betray the innocent gentlemen whom they meet casually of an evening. They do not steal watches or purses—not right out. They betray instead their husbands, their lovers, their tradesmen, their women friends, their children. They betray by disloyalty, by lies, by hypocrisy, by the grossest of self-deceptions. And in the process they are as drunk and disorderly as any group culled at random from the *Police Gazette*.

This is not to say that Mr. Arno is not excruciatingly funny, with, as Robert Benchley says in his preface, the "dementia which amounts to genius." But anybody who fails to see Mr. Arno as a moralist, though of a slightly different sort than some of his predecessors, fails to see him at all. He not only pictures ladies who have deceived their husbands, which might conceivably have occurred to a moralist of the *Police Gazette* era, but who are betraying the new and "modern" and supposedly more honest code of morals which has in a measure replaced the old code. His young ladies are quite willing, for example, to marry a man with whom their somewhat unconventional romance is already outworn. What a pass have we come to in this city, says Mr. Arno in effect, when we not only violate the conventional code, but are equally untrue to the code we have set up in its place!

Finally, Mr. Arno, while he is being moral, is not only being funny but what the mode of his day calls risqué. If there is any closer parallel than this to the *Police Gazette*, it is surely not needed to prove that he is the legitimate successor to the artists of that worthy sheet.

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Fighting Unemployment

I. Organizing the Labor Market*

By HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

UNEMPLOYMENT has become a permanent feature of American life. In no year since 1920, it is safe to say, has the average number of workers out of a job in non-agricultural employments fallen as low as 1,500,000. In the worst years it has probably been three times as great, students of the subject tell us, though nobody knows even approximately the actual number today. The difference between good and bad times is one of degree, but during good times we forget the whole thing. The more reason, then, that we should not let the present crisis pass without making at least a start on policies that give promise of reducing unemployment in future and eliminating its worst results. Organization of the labor market, unemployment insurance, and stabilization of industry—these are the lines of attack on which scientific students of unemployment have centered attention, and no need for immediate relief measures ought to be allowed to divert attention from them.

At present we can think of nothing but unemployment due to hard times, or in more elegant language, to cyclical fluctuation of industry. As a matter of fact, the best figures that we have (poor enough at that) indicate that over any considerable period of time such fluctuation does not account for even as much as one-half of our total unemployment, the remaining amount being due to seasonal irregularity, the displacement of men by the introduction of better machinery and organization (technological unemployment), and casual labor, such as exists among the dockers of an unorganized port. Cyclical unemployment, from which we are now suffering, is the most spectacular of all, is due to causes the least understood, and is therefore the hardest to attack. It will be the less puzzling, the better we are able to isolate it from unemployment due to other causes. Full, accurate, prompt, and continuous knowledge of employment conditions throughout the country is a prerequisite to intelligent action in meeting other kinds of unemployment and thus paving the way to an attack on the baffling problem of cyclical fluctuation. Such knowledge it is impossible to get without a comprehensive organization of the labor market, and that organization is therefore a first condition of any intelligent program to prevent unemployment. It is a means both to knowledge and to direct prevention.

Nation-wide organization of the labor market in a huge country like this will be largely organization by industrial districts. State lines mean little. Yet our efforts in the past have necessarily run largely along State lines. Aside from the efforts of trade unions to inform their members of work opportunities, aside from the work of private fee-charging agencies, and aside from the short-lived war-time Federal Employment Service, what little has hitherto been done in organizing employment exchanges has been done by the States and municipalities. Yet according to the report of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor in 1929, the total appropriations of all the State governments together for this purpose amounted to but $1,203,906, of which sum Illinois alone expended more than one-sixth. There were only 170 State and municipal public employment offices in the entire country. On June 25 last the number had risen to 176. Plainly enough, under the best conditions these more or less isolated efforts could not possibly meet the country-wide need for bringing together the worker and the job, to say nothing of furnishing the comprehensive and continuous information that is necessary.

But no one familiar with the history of these bureaus would maintain that most of them have worked satisfactorily. I quote the words of Benjamin M. Squires, chairman of the General Advisory Board of Illinois, who speaks understandingly and sympathetically of the work of such offices:

> Their answer [that of personnel men] concurred with my own views as to public employment offices wherever they have been set up; and that is that the best labor does not apply there. And when they have tried to get help from the public employment offices they find the men sent do not fit the job. They state in further detail that the public employment offices are not well located, not well planned, not well staffed; that the personnel of the public employment offices is frequently controlled by political influence; and that the insecurity of the job makes it difficult to secure competent help through those offices.

Too often, as Mr. Squires suggests, State employment offices have been havens for political hacks; yet even so the record is by no means wholly barren, and in some cases notable and encouraging advances have been made recently.

Even if the record is somewhat discouraging, then, it ought to be noted that what little we know about the facts of unemployment we owe largely to the work of State departments of labor, like those of Massachusetts and New York, which over a period of years, with the cooperation of trade unions and employers, have been patiently building up a system of regular reports. The federal Bureau of Labor Statistics also, cooperating with the State bureaus, and depending on the direct reports of employers in States where such cooperation does not exist, now receives, directly and indirectly, reports from establishments employing almost 5,000,000 workers. Its monthly figures give some information, at least, about the total number and proportion of unemployed workers in manufacturing, mining, public utilities, and trade. The bureau's ill-advised efforts of last winter to get weekly reports for a time, in response to orders from above, threw the whole reporting situation into confusion; and the results were used by the Administration, it will be remembered, to throw dust into the eyes of the public. Reporting machinery cannot be devised overnight. The bureau recently called attention sharply to the fact that nobody

* The first of a series of three articles. The second, Unemployment Insurance, will appear in the issue of December 17.—Editor The Nation.

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knows, and that it is nobody's business to know, even the total number of men out of work throughout the country at any given time, to say nothing of having the body of detailed information by industries and localities that we need. It is in such a situation that we have now to take action. While State and local activity are important, national action is absolutely necessary if anything important is to be accomplished. We cannot solve a national problem without dealing with it on a nation-wide scale.

The Wagner bills are a first step in the right direction. After a hard fight, in which the Administration for the better part of three years was consistently on the wrong side, the first of these bills (S. 3061) was passed by both houses of Congress and signed by the President on July 7 last. By failing to make any appropriation, however, Congress made it of no effect for the time being. The bill appears innocuous enough. It simply directs the Bureau of Labor Statistics to collect and publish monthly statistics of employment as indicated by number of persons employed, total wages paid, and total hours of employment, in manufacturing, mining, construction, agriculture, transportation and public utilities, and retail and wholesale trade. The bureau is also authorized to arrange with State and municipal agencies for their help in getting the figures. The importance of this law consists in its promise and its possibility, not in its actual prescriptions. Once we accept national responsibility for learning and publishing the elementary facts of employment and unemployment, the work may be developed as desired, and in time we may get full current information. It is not hard to show, however, that such information will always be incomplete in the absence of the labor registration that is a prerequisite of insurance.

The second bill (S. 3060) has passed the Senate and has been held up by Administration forces in the House, where it is being dangerously attacked by the process of amendment. The bill as passed by the Senate directs the Bureau of Labor Statistics "to establish and maintain a national system of employment offices" and "to assist in establishing and maintaining systems of public employment offices in the several States and the political subdivisions thereof." An annual appropriation of $4,000,000 is contemplated, of which $3,000,000 is to be available for distribution among the States, in proportion to population, to aid in the maintenance of State and municipal employment offices. In each case the State must accept the provisions of the federal act and must appropriate an amount at least equal to the subsidy it will receive. Further, the State agency must be carried on in accordance with plans approved by the Director General of the federal Employment Service. The familiar scheme of federal subsidy to the States, which has been successfully applied in the case of road building, maternity work, and other activities, would thus be used to stimulate the activity of the States, to bring about as far as possible uniform policies and procedures, and to unite the various State and federal offices into a single national system, without taking away the independence or responsibility of the States, although they would be held to federal standards just as in road work. The federal bureau would be charged with the responsibility for publishing information on employment opportunities and for clearing labor among the States—a function not possible for the State bureaus.

This bill has received the support of scientific students and civic organizations all over the country. It was opposed in the House hearings last spring only by the National Association of Manufacturers and the private employment agencies, which latter fear the effects on their business of a thoroughly organized and well-managed nation-wide system of employment exchanges. Mr. James A. Emery, for the manufacturers, urged the menace of federal bureaucracy and the invasion of States' rights. Proposed House amendments tend simply to weaken the bill, and it is to be hoped that they will not be embodied in the measure as finally passed. Among other things, such amendments would reduce the salary of the director of the proposed employment service, and would take away the authorization to establish and maintain uniform standards, policies, and procedure among the States, and to aid in the transportation of workers going to employment. The bill as passed by the Senate is by no means perfect. The authorized appropriation of $3,000,000 a year that is proposed for State subsidies during the period up to June 30, 1934, if matched by equal State appropriations, would make available for the State offices some $6,000,000, a sum five times as great as that expended by the States before the business depression. Even so, the amount will be inadequate if the system grows as it ought to, and adequate appropriations will have to be forthcoming as the work develops. More serious is the fact that the bill, as expounded by Senator Wagner to the House Committee on the Judiciary, would not give to the federal Employment Service the power to require, as a condition of subsidy, the appointment of employees of State offices under civil-service regulations. If the practical result of the Wagner bills were to be simply the subsidizing of State employment offices politically manned and run, then we should have merely a fresh waste of public money. The matter is one of importance if we are to build up a national employment service and not a set of State bureaus cursed with political personnel, as they have often been cursed in the past.

The bill ought to be safeguarded in this particular, and driven through to enactment in the present session essentially in the form in which it was passed by the Senate. If this be done, we shall have the beginning of a national employment service, even though its form be much more decentralized than is theoretically desirable. The essential thing is not theoretical perfection, but the setting up of a practical and workable system, national in character, operation, and outlook, yet adjusted to local peculiarities and difficulties. It is not necessary to do more than suggest the possibilities of such a service if it were given the ungrudging support of the Administration and of Congress, and were put under the direction of any one of half a dozen competent students and administrators who are at present to be found in the federal and State administrative services and in the universities as well.

Advocates of such a system, however, ought not to exaggerate what it can accomplish. Assume that passage of the Wagner bills is only the first step in establishing a national system of employment offices, and that such a system will be fully developed. Even so it can only prevent a certain undetermined amount of unemployment by bringing together unemployed men and vacant jobs when both exist, and can furnish certain essential information to serve as a basis for stabilization procedure, and for insurance when unemployment cannot be prevented. At present workers

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spend millions of dollars on "situations wanted" advertising in the newspapers and many more millions for the services of fee-charging private agencies. The abuses of this type of agency are so grave that a number of European countries and five Canadian provinces have prohibited their operation entirely. The Supreme Court of the United States, however, has held, though with strong dissenting opinions, not only that a State may not prohibit such agencies, but that it may not even regulate the fees charged by them. For the present, therefore, whatever the future may hold in store, a public system of employment offices will have to establish itself in the face of private competition. It cannot be the exclusive and all-inclusive agency for the placement and clearing of labor. Therefore the information at its disposal cannot be complete, and accordingly it cannot perform either its placement or its information task with theoretical perfection. Only as a public employment service is combined with some kind of insurance system under which all workers are registered with that service as a condition of enjoying insurance benefits, does its work approach such perfection. Public opinion in this country has not yet accepted any general system of unemployment insurance, however rapidly it may be moving in that direction. We cannot hope immediately, then, for anything better than a partially effective employment service. The more reason for taking promptly the first necessary steps, in order to prepare the way for the next ones.

Save the Children

By FLORENCE KELLEY

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S third White House Conference on Child Health and Protection has been held. It is too soon clearly to foresee what may emerge as its ultimate result for good or evil. It cannot be adequately interpreted without reference to its predecessors. A few nights before President Roosevelt's first White House Conference he was dining informally in a settlement on the lower East Side of New York City with a little group of intimate friends acquired chiefly during his lively career as police commissioner. One of them asked him point-blank: "What are you expecting of our special group?"

"Oh," said Roosevelt, "come and bring all your best thoughts with you! This conference is not mine. It is yours and the children's. I am only your sounding board, your reverberator."

The company and hundreds of others attended the conference, and out of it there emerged in concrete, legislative form in 1912 Lillian Wald's dream of a center, somewhere in the federal government, for all the needs, known and still unknown, of all the country's children. President Taft signed in 1912 the bill that created the federal Children's Bureau.

Early in 1919 the Children's Bureau, the first of its kind in the world, having served wisely and faithfully under the able and imaginative administration of Julia Clifford Lathrop, received from President Wilson (in addition to its routine appropriation) the sum of $100,000 from the $100,000,000 which Congress had voted to the President to be used as he saw fit in reconstruction work. There ensued the world-famous Children's Year.

From Belgium came Dr. René Sands, from England Doctors Newsholme and Newman and other medical authorities on maternal and infant mortality. Everywhere they preached the duty of governments to stimulate local authorities to help make childbirth safe, anticipate its dangers with prenatal care, and thus reduce the appalling number of motherless homes.

As our older boys and girls owed the immeasurable benefits of their bureau to President Roosevelt's first White House Conference, so the children of the present owe to President Wilson's farsighted encouragement of the bureau in the Children's Year, 1919, that concentration of the nation's thought upon preventable deaths of mothers and babies which led Congress to enact, in 1921, the Sheppard-Towner Act for Maternity and Infancy, and to extend it, in 1927, for two years ending June 30, 1929.

But what of the third White House Conference? It has served to reveal clearly at last President Hoover's long ill-concealed intent to dismember and destroy the federal Children's Bureau to whose upbuilding his predecessors, Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding, and Coolidge, contributed, each in his own way. The dominant interest of this year's conference was the overwhelming protest of the delegates against the committee recommendation that all medical work of the federal Children's Bureau be transferred to the United States Public Health Service. The recommendation split the conference on Thursday morning, November 20, and there was no subsequent reconciliation. On Saturday morning, the closing day, Secretary Wilbur announced that the recommendation would not be further discussed, but would go to a Continuation Committee to be appointed by President Hoover. Any recommendation of that committee can, however, have no final effect, for Congressional action is needed to give validity to a transfer.

Dismemberment of the bureau had been recommended at a July meeting in Chicago of a committee appointed nearly a year ago, with Dr. Bishop of Cleveland as chairman. Miss Grace Abbott, a member of the committee and chief of the Children's Bureau since 1921, dissented and filed a minority report. This minority report was suppressed, and is not included in the cloth-bound preliminary volume of 600 pages confidentially put forth by the Department of the Interior in advance of the opening of the conference by President Hoover on November 19.

The protest of the delegates occupied the sessions of Thursday and Friday mornings and Friday afternoon. It was initiated by Senator Davis, hitherto Secretary of Labor, in an admirable address to the general session on Thursday morning. The bureau being in the Labor Department, he spoke with full and intimate knowledge of its work. Senator Davis warned the conference that the proposed transfer, if sanctioned by Congress, would definitely end the cooperation between the government and the States for the especial protection of maternity and infancy which had existed under the

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Sheppard-Towner Act to the measureless benefit of children, whose death-rate it had reduced. He foretold the injury to them if they were deprived of their position as the central interest of their own bureau, created and maintained solely to save and serve them, and were relegated to that of mere newcomers among the beneficiaries of the thousand and one activities which occupy the attention of the United States Public Health Service.

Dr. De Normandie came from Boston to register his protest in person, and telegrams of protest were read from the floor by Lillian D. Wald of New York, head of the Visiting Nurses' Association, signed with the following names, quite as distinguished as any on the committee which favored the transfer:

Dr. M. C. Winternitz, Dean, Yale School of Medicine
Dr. Grover S. Power, Pediatrician, Yale University
Dr. Franklin C. McLean, University of Chicago
Dr. Edward A. Park, Pediatrician, Johns Hopkins
Dr. George Gellhorn, Obstetrics, School of Medicine, St. Louis University, St. Louis
Dr. McKim Marriott, Dean of the School of Medicine, Washington University, St. Louis

A similar protest, signed by the executives of the following twelve national organizations of women, was also read from the floor:

American Association of University Women
American Federation of Teachers
American Home Economics Association
American Nurses' Association
Council of Women for Home Missions
National Board, Young Women's Christian Association
National Consumers' League
National Council of Jewish Women
League of Women Voters
National Woman's Trade Union League
Service Star Legion
Girls' Friendly Society

As Dr. Alice Hamilton of the Harvard School of Public Health acutely pointed out:

> The sole argument for the recommendation advanced by its defenders is that it is logical to have all medical work done by the government headed by medical men. But our government has never rested upon logic. We are pragmatic. What works well we keep, what proves worthless we drop. If there were any logic in the organization of our government how could the United States Public Health Service be under the Treasury?

The long-heralded conference has come and gone. It was stormy and disillusioning for committee members who had for months sacrificed time and strength to serve the children. And if their sacrifices are to be justified, the greatest effort has only begun. For Congress meets at once, and the struggle which continued from June 30, 1929, when the Sheppard-Towner appropriation lapsed, to the end of the long session will henceforth be above ground before multitudes of witnesses. One cheering item is the fact that the Senate Commerce Committee reported favorably the original Jones-Cooper bill to appropriate to the Children's Bureau funds for its work for the hygiene and welfare of maternity and infancy. Of the multiplicity of bills dealing with the subject this alone came out of committee. This bill intact is still before the Senate awaiting a favorable vote.

Loans and Revolutions

By DREW PEARSON

WHEN Augusto B. Leguía, recently deposed dictator of Peru, first entered the presidential palace in Lima twenty-two years ago, he was not nearly so experienced in the ways and wiles of dictatorships as he became later. As a result he suffered several inconveniences. Once troops dragged him out of his palace into the Plaza de la Inquisicion, where he had to do some fast talking about a forged death warrant in order to give his friends time to rescue him. Again, his house was surrounded at night and he had to man all his windows with armed servants until morning. Eventually Leguía was forced into exile.

When he came back in 1919 two things had happened. First and most important, the United States had cornered the world's gold supply and had begun to pour it into Latin America to the tune of $5 for every $4 that it had invested in Europe. Second, Leguía, not having had very much to do while he sat in Paris, had given much more thought to the art of dictating and had developed some brand-new ideas on the subject.

The result was that as soon as Leguía seized office again, Peru began to be famous as the outstanding friend of the United States in Latin America. Leguía never failed to declare the Fourth of July a national Peruvian holiday. He never failed to instruct his delegates to Pan-American conferences to back any proposal sponsored by the United States. He even placed a portrait of President Monroe, most famous and probably most unpopular of North American Presidents, in the halls of the Peruvian Parliament. And during the visit to Peru of President-elect Hoover, when one of the sailors on the U.S.S. Maryland, enjoying shore leave a little too exuberantly, shot a completely law-abiding Peruvian policeman, President Leguía allowed not a word of it to reach the Peruvian populace, which was busy acclaiming a North American President.

Under Leguía's paternal protection a United States naval mission came to train the Peruvian navy, the International Telephone and Telegraph Company was given monopoly control of the telephones, Standard Oil exploited Peru's vast oil resources, and the Fawcett Aviation Company was given a contract to spray coastal cotton fields with insect powder. And as the *pièce de résistance,* President Leguía sent to President Hoover the Grand Cross in diamonds of the Order of the Sun of Peru, with a Grand Cross without diamonds for Secretary of State Stimson.

Coincident with this policy of good-will toward the "Colossus of the North," Augusto B. Leguía began to receive loans from North American bankers. The loans, at first, were given because the bankers had plenty of money and

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considered the Peruvian government a sound investment. Later there seems to have been some doubt about this latter condition, but the loans continued for an amazing length of time.

Leguía not only borrowed money for his own federal government, but under his tutelage various municipalities also borrowed. The loans went to pay for what appeared to be praiseworthy and beneficial enterprises—the construction of roads, public works, sewers, and irrigation projects. It was subsequently discovered, however, that Leguía employed an ingenious method of construction. He farmed out much of the work to his military commanders. He sent a regular monthly instalment to a commander in the north for road building and such and such a sum to a commander in the south for port improvement. But he did not specify how many miles of roads were to be built or the quality.

The system certainly was no more corrupt than the method by which construction contracts are let in many of our larger cities, and it had the one all-important merit of keeping peace in Peru. As long as loans were coming from the United States, and as long as percentages of these loans were regularly reaching the pockets of the military, Leguía was able to exile his enemies, imprison labor agitators, and run the country pretty much as he pleased. The military did not drag him out into the Plaza de la Inquisicion as they had done in his less-experienced days as dictator. They did not snipe at his house at night. They were his most obedient servants; and American loans did it.

All went well—exceptionally well—until depression hit the world. The prices of cotton, copper, and sugar—Peru's chief exports—seemed to have been thrown into a bottomless pit. The low price of exports affected Peruvian buying power. Imports decreased. Government revenue, chiefly derived from customs duties on imports, fell off one-sixth. The bankers not only were unable to float more bonds for Leguía, but their eyes had been opened at last and they probably would not have done so if they could. Leguía had no more money to send to his military. The military were caught with a series of half-constructed roads on their hands with an upkeep which cost nearly as much as the original construction. The military revolted. They set up their own government. Leguía's magic formula for successful dictatorships had failed.

Of course, Leguía, ambitious, human, was a mere cog in the machine. The point is that American bankers, with the sanction if not the approval of the State Department, were largely responsible for running a neighboring nation head over heels into debt, for maintaining a high-handed dictator in office for eleven years against the will of the people, and indirectly for bringing about revolution. The point, further, is that the same situation obtains, in varying degree, in all but one of the other countries which have experienced recent revolution. Argentina was the only government which did not owe its prolongation of life chiefly to American loans, and even in Argentina the states are overborrowed beyond any reasonable capacity to pay.

In Brazil American loans were an important cause, though not the most important, of revolution. The government had been in the hands of a São Paulo clique, and with the election of Julio Prestes to succeed Washington Luis the country was faced with six more years of domination from São Paulo. The state of São Paulo had launched upon a very definite but very unsuccessful policy of borrowing money from American and European bankers. In addition to heavy borrowing for public works, the state had negotiated the famous coffee valorization loan—disapproved by the Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover—for the purpose of buying up the surplus coffee crop every year in order to keep the price high for the American coffee drinker. The result was an accumulation of 27,000,000 bags of coffee, as against a production this year of about 24,000,000 bags and a usual annual sale by Brazil of about 15,000,000 bags.

In addition to the heavy financial burdens incurred by the state of São Paulo, the federal government of Brazil, dominated by the São Paulo clique, had also borrowed somewhat heavily and most injudiciously. It had negotiated, among others, the famous Dillon, Read loan of $25,000,000 for the electrification of the São Paulo Railway. Although the loan was negotiated eight years ago, not even the price of a flash-light battery has been spent toward electrifying the line. It might be libelous to say what became of the money, but Epitacio Passoa, the man who floated the loan, is now living in Paris, reputedly a multimillionaire.

The state of Rio Grande do Sul, with some of its southern sisters, objected to this extravagant borrowing policy, and although there were many other causes for the recent revolution, this was important enough, at least in the eyes of Secretary of State Stimson, to cause him to throw all the weight of the United States government behind the administration which had borrowed the money and whose fall might jeopardize the loans.

Although the circumstances in no two Latin American countries are exactly analogous, it was a fact that before the recent Bolivian revolution the dictatorship of President Siles continued only because of the 1928 Dillon, Read loan of $23,000,000; it is a fact that President Machado remains in Cuba only because of both financial and political support from the United States; and that Dictator Gomez in Venezuela, although lacking practically any external debt, is able to keep on top of the most tyrannical dictatorship in the Western Hemisphere only because the income from Andrew W. Mellon's and other British and American oil companies permits him to continue paying his army.

Waiving entirely the question of whether or not the United States should lend itself and its money to supporting unpopular dictatorships, there remains the somewhat more concrete question of whether or not the new regimes which have supplanted these unpopular dictatorships will actually pay their predecessors' obligations, and whether the State Department was wise in passing favorably on these loans.

The question is not without some degree of importance. In the first place, North American loans to Latin America are now greater than those to Europe. The Department of Commerce estimates them at approximately $5,500,000,000. In the second place, all the loans to Latin American governments, states, and municipalities have been passed on to the people of the United States. The bankers in New York simply pocketed their commissions, sent high-pressure salesmen out into the country, and the American public, having the utmost confidence in any bond bearing the stamp of a foreign government and the supposed approval of the State Department, did the rest.

Finally, the question is one which is being asked by many of the highest officers in the Hoover Administration

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and is admittedly the most important problem before the State Department at the present time. The fact is that some of Mr. Hoover's experts think the federal governments of Peru and Bolivia and some of the state governments of Brazil and Argentina will not be able to meet their obligations. Approximately one-half of the income of both the Peruvian and Bolivian governments now goes toward service charges on foreign loans. The Banco del Peru y Londres, chief commercial bank of Lima, has had to suspend payments owing to the fact that its securities were found to consist chiefly of I.O.U.'s on ex-President Leguía. Peru's deficit last year was estimated at $11,000,000 and the year before at $9,000,000. Bolivia's deficit last year was nearly $11,000,000. Interest payments have been kept up chiefly through incurring deficits and then reborrowing. This is true not merely of Bolivia and Peru. A survey of the Latin American loans from 1913 to 1926 shows that the total borrowings for the continent during that period just about equaled the total deficits. Governments borrowed money, incurred deficits to meet interest payments, and then borrowed more—until the crash came.

Probably there are many people holding Latin American bonds now selling far below par who are asking why the State Department approved this tremendous number of issues when it must have known how precarious was their position. Probably before many months are over there will be a great many more people asking this question.

There is much to be said both for and against the State Department on this point. Unfortunately, the public has come to think of the State Department as the guardian of the public interest in regard to foreign loans, and also that the State Department approves an issue after examining the debtor's capacity to pay. Perhaps such supervision is desirable, but at present it does not exist. The first conception of the State Department was created by Mr. Herbert Hoover when he, as Secretary of Commerce, vetoed the Brazilian coffee valorization loan because he maintained it would increase the price of a commodity largely consumed by the American people. The second impression—that the State Department *approves* a loan—is totally erroneous. The State Department never approves a loan. If the loan is contrary to the country's political interest—if, as is still the case with Russia, the country has not yet paid its debts—the loan is disapproved. But the reverse of disapproval is never approval; the reverse—to use the State Department's own punctilious language—is "to raise no objection." Unfortunately, this fine distinction is lost on the general public, which labors under the always misleading and frequently disastrous belief that the State Department has examined into and guarantees the capacity to pay and general economic stability of the borrowing country.

The State Department, of course, has not one iota of faith in the idea of protecting the public through the veto of loans. It figures that nothing can protect the investing public except its own sad experience, and there seems to be some justification for this belief. The State Department points out, for instance, that after Herbert Hoover vetoed the Brazilian coffee valorization loan in 1924, São Paulo went to Lazard Brothers in Paris and London, who negotiated the loan at a slightly higher rate of interest and then proceeded to sell the bonds in the United States. The American public got the bonds; the bankers got the commission.

A country which controls most of the world's gold supply cannot be prevented by artificial barriers from lending money, the State Department contends, and ever since the veto on the Brazilian coffee loan, it has steadfastly refused to veto loans to foreign countries which have paid their war debts to the United States.

The position of the State Department might appear to be altogether sound were it not for the fact that it is the subject of constant caustic comment from the Commerce Department. The latter objects to many things which its sister department treats more or less as a matter of routine. It objects, for instance, to the fact that the foreign-loan man at State may call up at about four o'clock and ask whether the Department of Commerce has any objection to a loan of so much money to such and such a country, adding that such and such a country wants the answer before four-thirty. It objected also—although not vigorously enough to win out—against the 1928 Dillon, Read loan of $23,000,000 to Bolivia. The loan was earmarked for refunding of previous loans and for railroad construction; yet within the year $5,000,000 of it had gone for the purchase of munitions from Vickers, Ltd., with which to upset Frank B. Kellogg's peace negotiations between Paraguay and Bolivia.

Perhaps there is poetic justice even in the realm of high finance. For the State Department, despite Commerce Department frowns, had insisted that the loan be passed, because failure to do so would cause Bolivia to default, which in turn would capsize the structure of Latin American finance. The policy is to prevent default by any one nation with subsequent loss of confidence in the entire Latin American bond market. The State Department approved a similar policy of throwing good money after bad when Speyer and Company and J. Henry Schröder took up the matter of floating the coffee devalorization loan. The purpose of the loan was to unload gradually on the market the 27,000,000 bags which had been heaped up in São Paulo warehouses after Lazard Brothers negotiated the original valorization loan. European bankers and American bond-holders who had bought the loan were frankly in a hole. The question was whether to come to their rescue by throwing new American money after old European money now pretty far gone. The Commerce Department hedged; but it finally recognized that the funds actually had been raised not in Europe but chiefly from gullible American bond buyers. The loan went through; but at last American bond buyers had learned not to be gullible. They bought only about 15 per cent of the flotation. The bankers were stuck with the rest.

What will be the result of South America's present economic chaos is impossible to predict. Fundamentally, its position is sound. It is rich in minerals, wheat, meat, wool, tropical woods, and has a hot-house climate that will grow anything anywhere. For the present, however, its position is anything but sound. Whether it will pull through the present without a moratorium on debt payments and without following Mexico's example of appointing international bankers' committees, seems doubtful. That many of the loans now held by American bond buyers will be scaled down seems probable.

According to international law, if a nation can prove collusion between the bankers and its own officials, it is justified in asking for debt cancelation. Under circumstances where representatives of as many as eight banking houses were in one capital all bidding for a loan, and where

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the most favorable bidder did not always get it, proof of collusion would not appear to be difficult. Certainly the facts surrounding the $25,000,000 loan for the electrification of the São Paulo Railway are such that the new government of Brazil might go before an international tribunal and reasonably expect cancelation. In that case the loss would fall not upon Dillon, Read, but upon the people who bought the bonds.

There is only one safe statement that can be made about the future of Latin American finance. It is going to attract much more scrutiny by both Congress and the State Department and cause much more sorrow on the part of the American public than anyone now dreams.

Southern Women Attack Lynching

By WILLIE SNOW ETHRIDGE

SOUTHERN women, whose chastity has been saved, according to a widespread belief, for the past hundred years by lynchings, have initiated a movement to eradicate this protection by rope and faggot. Meeting in Atlanta and Dallas in November, they mapped out a definite program which they hope will eventually wipe out all mob violence. Their move into this bloody field, hitherto held undisputed by their men folks, was actuated by the recent increase of lynchings in the South.

During the first nine months of this year there were twenty-one lynchings. This was nine more than in all of 1929, ten more than in 1928, and five more than in 1927. There were six lynchings in Georgia, four in Texas, three in Mississippi, two in South Carolina, one in North Carolina, one in Oklahoma, one in Alabama, one in Florida, and two in Indiana. Twenty of the twenty-one victims were Negroes. And though the familiar chorus of rape which follows each lynching stanza swelled as loudly these nine months as ever before, only seven of the twenty-one were even accused of rape. This proportion is in accord with the records for the past forty-four years, as compiled by Monroe N. Work, director of the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute. He found that of the 4,287 persons lynched from 1885 through 1929, only 884 were charged with rape or attempted rape. This is one-fifth or 20.6 per cent of the total.

Cognizant of these facts, the women decided that it was high time, in this year of increased barbarism, for them, who have been used as a smoke screen for man's brutality, to take steps to end it. Representatives from twelve Southern States gathered in two separate meetings to outline a plan of action. Eight States east of the Mississippi sent delegates to the Atlanta meeting and four Southwestern States to the Dallas conference. Officials of the women's organizations of the Southern Baptist and the Methodist Episcopal Church South, of the Southern Presbyterian Church, the Parent-Teachers' Association, the League of Women Voters, the Y. W. C. A., the Federation of Women's Clubs, and other organizations were present.

Their first official act was to issue a statement cutting the ground from beneath the men who salve their conscience with the soothing theory that they lynch to protect womanhood. The women informed them that they wanted no more of their red-handed courtesy. The statement read in part:

> We are profoundly convinced that lynching is not a defense of womanhood or of anything else, but rather a menace to private and public safety, and a deadly blow at our most sacred institutions. Instead of deterring irresponsible and criminal classes, as it is argued, lynching tends inevitably to destroy all respect for law and order. It represents the complete breakdown of government and the triumph of anarchy. It brutalizes the community where it occurs, including the women and children who frequently witness its orgies, and particularly the youth who are usually conspicuous participants. . . .
>
> We would call attention that lynching is not alone the crime of ignorant and irresponsible mobs, but that every citizen who condones it, even by his silence, must accept a share of its guilt.
>
> We therefore call upon all our public officials to use every power at their disposal to protect from mob anarchy the laws they are sworn to defend; upon our religious leaders to cry aloud against this crime till it ceases to exist; upon parents and teachers to train up a generation incapable of such relapses into barbarism, and upon all right-thinking men and women to do their utmost in every way for the complete eradication of this crime.

The plan of action formulated by the women calls for a committee of at least twelve women in each Southern State to be the generating power of the movement. The members of the committee will authorize their chairman to use their names on appeals to the sheriffs and officers of counties where lynchings are imminent, urging them to protect their prisoners from mobs and assuring them that if they do the women will stand behind them.

The women are of the opinion that conscientious sheriffs, determined to guard their prisoners at all costs, can do more to stop lynching than any other one force. The mob's chief trait is cowardice and it does not move forward in the face of bullets. Officers of the law have prevented 267 lynchings in the South in the past eight years, but approximately 185 others could have been prevented during that same period. For a sheriff now to stop a mob is to endanger his job. The mass of voters resent such presumption in an officer of their choice. This fact was borne in upon the Commission on Interracial Cooperation recently when it tried to present an Alabama sheriff with a medal for saving his prisoner.

"What do you want to do—kill him politically?" the sheriff's friends demanded. "If it ever got out that he received a medal for stopping a mob, he wouldn't have a ghost of a chance at being reelected."

The women will work to change this situation. When a sheriff successfully opposes a mob, they will praise him publicly through the newspapers, congratulate him personally, and, what is of much more importance, they will do all in their power to reelect him. Conversely, the sheriff who

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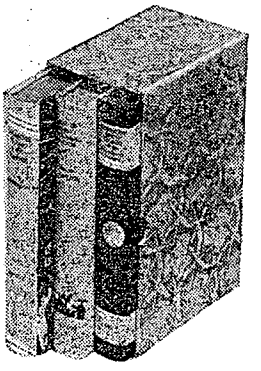

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gives up his prisoner will be condemned through public pronouncements and his reelection will be fought with all the strength the women can muster.

The State committee of twelve will also authorize its chairman to issue appeals and petitions to the governor asking him to send the State militia to spots where lynchings are brewing and to investigate lynchings which have already taken place, with the determination to bring the killers to justice.

All the women of the South will be urged to repudiate publicly the introduction of the race issue in political campaigns. They know that the use of the Negro as a political bludgeon stirs up race hatred and fear and increases lynching totals. This summer three candidates for the United States Senate built much of their campaigns upon racial prejudice. Senator Cole Blease of South Carolina stumped his State declaiming, "To hell with the Constitution when the virtue of a woman is at stake"; former Governor Slaton of Georgia, in his campaign against Senator Harris, declared white supremacy had been menaced by the vote of the Senator against the confirmation of the appointment of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court; and Senator Heflin beat his usual anti-Negro tom-toms. In none of these States do Negroes vote in the Democratic primaries and they were dragged into the campaigns to arouse hatred and becloud the real issue.

Those women who are alive to the evil of mob violence will bestir themselves to make all the feminine South equally cognizant of this evil. They will seek to bring into their own group an influential member of every woman's organization below the Mason and Dixon line. This member will shoulder the responsibility of getting her organization to pass resolutions condemning lynchings at the annual State meetings and at the district conferences and conventions—resolutions which will be preceded by programs and speeches on lynching conditions.

In the community where a lynching takes place the local women will make an extensive study of the character and reputation of every woman involved as a victim, or alleged victim, of rape. By such a study they plan to bring to the attention of the public the fact that many of the attacked are as guilty as their attackers and that no credence can be put in their testimony. The women will also make a study of the character and reputation of every man lynched for an alleged offense against a woman. The women hope to impress upon an apathetic public that almost always the Negro who rapes is feeble-minded. The responsibility for his crime should not rest upon his befuddled soul, but upon the citizens of the South who allow him to be at large. According to a report made recently by Dr. William W. Alexander, director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, there is not a single institution South of the Mason and Dixon line for the care of young, delinquent, and feeble-minded Negroes. Finally, the Southern women who see all sides of the lynching problem plan also to consider the cases of assault against Negro women by white men and the disposition of such cases—not an easy subject for women to concern themselves with, but one which needs attention.

The daughters of the South are not content with hurling denunciatory phrases; they are militantly marching out to make war upon barbarism that has flourished in their name.

In the Driftway

THE American habit of doing things just because they can be done has produced some admirable results. And the Drifter approves in general of the rousing theory that there is no such word as can't, so long as it is used as a slogan and not as an absolute rule of life. But the habit can also be preposterous, as some of our victims, notably England, can testify. For years rich Americans have gone about the English countryside as if it were a huge antique shop. With a business-like eye, and a business-like disregard for taste or the feelings of other interested persons, these devotees of culture have picked out any ancient building that struck their fancy, have signed a check of almost any size, and ordered the prize sent home. For years Englishmen have fumed, and now a law is being drafted to prevent further stripping of the countryside, which, alas, is most loved by those who are not rich enough to buy it.

* * * * *

THIS practice of removing cottages and castles from their ancient ivied settings has become an industry in its own right, and the tales that go with it make one wonder that the English have been so patient. There is, for instance, the story of how the inhabitants of a certain village awoke one morning to find their proudest boast, a medieval manor house, completely gone from their midst. It had been taken down during the night and loaded on trucks, destination somewhere in California. It is as if Mount Vernon were to be bought for money and taken to Wales. There is the further story of an American who moved a castle, piece by piece, to America, where he had it set up again, only to find that he didn't like it after all. Whereupon he had it taken down again and returned to its original place. In England it has become a matter of speculation as to what will go next, Westminster or the Prince of Wales.

* * * * *

THE new law will be concerned primarily with buildings of historic or national interest. It will prohibit their removal not only to another country but to another site, and also it will attempt to prevent the stripping of such buildings of their fittings—of the oak paneling and carved staircases which sell for huge prices in Madison Avenue shops. But the cottages and lesser castles of old England may still be transported with impunity. And the same dispatch which told of the new law also announced that an Englishwoman who subscribes all too readily to the American dictum that there is no law higher than the law of supply and demand is about to depart for America for the sole purpose of selling English cottages to Americans.

* * * * *

APPARENTLY the only way to prevent the success of this enterprising saleswoman is to set up a counter-propaganda against incongruity. But the Drifter cannot feel very hopeful on that score. It will be hard work. A multimillionaire who has learned his business English in Gothic college buildings by the dim light of casement windows will hardly perceive that it is a little ridiculous for a modern American to live in a castle with walls three feet thick.

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

Women and Jobs

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: One wonders if those who are so zealous to drive married women from jobs realize how barren the results would be, even if the efforts should succeed. Bulletins of the Women's Bureau, federal Department of Labor, show that in the United States there are but 1,920,281 wage-earning women who are married and living with husbands. The greater number of these, it was found by an intensive survey by the bureau, being the wives of poorly paid men, give all their earnings to the family support. Of the lesser number many support dependent relatives; that still others work for better opportunities for their children would not be a violent presumption. There remains but a negligible number who can be working for "finery for themselves." To dismiss them would make small gain for unemployed *patres familias*.

If married women are to be denied work on the ground that they can live on the husband's wages, then well-to-do men and the sons of the well-to-do, who could as well live on the family income, must be dismissed. Not women alone are addicted to buying "finery." It would be a big task to explore all this. Even President Hoover's commissions would work overtime and would not get far.

Shortening the work day by two hours would make at least 6,000,000 more jobs. American workers got a ten-hour day in the 1830's and an eight-hour day in the 1880's, each time without decrease in pay. The effort in each case was materially aided by women and was centered on the struggle of wage-earners, not on sex discriminations.

Agnes H. Downing

Manhattan Beach, Cal., November 19

In Defense of the World Court

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: One is sorry to see in *The Nation* such an unbalanced article as your recent editorial on the World Court. Not only in the article as a whole, but in many of its details, is the reasoning most questionable. For instance, have you made such an analysis of the business coming up before the court in the next few years that you really think the other nations and the committee of experts are wrong and that Cuba is right in blocking permanent court sessions? The plan of increasing the number of judges and increasing their salaries has already gone into effect (with Cuba's favorable vote). The increase in the court budget for this purpose was about $100,000. Britain pays a greater proportion of the court expenses than any other nation and her share of this is about $10,000 per year, Cuba's share about $1,000. Do you seriously think these amounts too much to spend in trying to build up a truly permanent court to settle wisely the legal disputes between nations?

By far the most serious part of your article is the charge that France dominates the court and that France can "count on" the votes of several judges. To secure election a judge must receive a majority of the votes both in the Assembly and in the Council. Moreover, he must have been nominated by some national group in the old Hague Court of Arbitration, or if the country nominating is not a member of this court, then by a similar group. For instance, the four men who make nominations from the United States are Elihu Root, Newton Baker, Roland Boyden, and John Bassett Moore. They nominated Frank B. Kellogg as the most competent and available person from our country. The same technique prevails for all the other judges. To say that France is able, even if she tried to do so, to influence this machinery so as to get persons elected who will favor her rather than pronounce justice as they see it is preposterous.

Any election is subject to human motives and personal opinions, but granting all this, we must recognize that no possible scheme of election would be satisfactory to all. To charge that the judges have in the past or will in the future favor any one country is ridiculous. France has already lost two cases before the court, in one of which, the Tunisian nationalities case, her own judge voted against her, the vote being unanimous. Two other cases she won by a large majority.

New York, November 5 Philip C. Nash

Holmes and Brandeis

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I call your attention to the interesting case of Dunn *vs.* State, 173 Northeastern Reporter 22, in which the Ohio Court of Appeals declared constitutional a statute to prevent usury in the wage-loan business. This decision was later affirmed by the Supreme Court of Ohio. In the course of the court's opinion, which was written by Presiding Justice Vickery, the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the New York theater-ticket case (Tyson *vs.* Banton, 273 U. S. 418) was discussed, and among other things the Ohio court had this to say:

> But, mark you, out of the learned gentlemen that constituted the Supreme Court of the United States, four of the nine judges, and among those four were men like Justice Holmes, men like Justice Brandeis, and other men who are more in accord with the advanced thought of the day than were the majority of the court, dissented. Justice Holmes stands out in his ninetieth year as a monument to progressive thought and as an exponent of the emancipation of the court from the traditions which have made it hidebound for so many years, and Justice Brandeis, who coincided, is an able compeer.

Chicago, November 21 Pertinax

Billings and the Supreme Court

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: There is only one question before the California State Supreme Court *re* Warren K. Billings. That question is not his views on God or the government, but simply whether there is convincing evidence that he placed a bomb at Steuart and Market Streets in San Francisco on July 22, 1916.

I was not in California at the time of the bomb explosion. I am not connected with any "radical" organization nor am I personally acquainted with any individual of radical sympathies. I have not read a word of the material published by the Mooney Defense League. I have read, however, every word of the testimony presented at the recent Supreme Court hearing.

Starting without sympathy and without prejudice, I am convinced by that hearing that the evidence placing Billings at Steuart and Market Streets with a bomb would be insufficient to warrant hanging a yellow dog. It is apparent from the record that in that hearing an emotional bias amounting almost to hysteria was shown by Justices John W. Preston and John E. Richards.

Oakland, Cal., November 5 Nancy Barr Mavity

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Books, Films, Drama

Suicide by Drowning

By LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL

It had always been his doom
To be afraid of the walls of a room.
Around him, even in the air,
He felt the forming of a square.
Winter, Spring, Summer, Fall,
Each one a towering, crowding wall—
All human life confined by seasons
As madness is by reasons.

And it wasn't only the year—
There was that other thing, the sky,
Making it doubly clear
That he should die.
East, South, West, North—
Always that relentless fourth.
There could be no escape
From a square shape.

One last thought he had reserved
Against a final smothering—
Water was not square, but curved,
And held remembered mothering.
There were no angles in the sea—
That was the one way to be free.
He'd trick the grave, the box, the hearse,
And all the foursquare universe.

Modern Architecture

The New World Architecture. By Sheldon Cheney. Longmans, Green and Company. $10.

FROM the standpoint of its illustrations, which number nearly four hundred, this is by far the most satisfactory book on the new world architecture that has so far appeared in America. It is, moreover, a fine campaign document for "modernism." For though Mr. Cheney's book lacks the erudition and sometimes the insight of Henry-Russell Hitchcock's recent "Modern Architecture," though its vocabulary is romantic and occasionally even a trifle effervescent, it is written none the less with admirable clarity and straightforwardness.

By the new world architecture Mr. Cheney does not, of course, mean all the prominent buildings that have been erected in the world in the last few years, but only those designed and built according to certain "machine-age" principles. This he often calls "stripped architecture"; its various champions have called it "pure," "time-space," and "elementarist" architecture; Mr. Hitchcock has called it the architecture of the "New Pioneers," and also "technical" architecture, because it represents "the triumph of the technical point of view." It is distinguished, according to Mr. Cheney, by the fact that it consistently achieves certain qualities:

> . . . geometric simplicity; absolute honesty in the use of materials and "motives"; total independence from known styles of decoration; a new massiveness and precision; clean lines, hard edges, sanitary smoothness; resistless *drive*.

For this new architecture Mr. Cheney is an ardent propagandist. The architecture of the entire five hundred years before 1900 he sweeps aside as so much "architectural slavery"; it was "weak, unoriginal, vacillating, showy"; and

> The new architecture begins to raise its head today throughout Europe and the Americas, as the first creative manifestation in the art since Michelangelo (who came a century after his time) laid down his tools.

This is tall talk. None the less, it has become evident to nearly everyone that the last decade has witnessed a genuine architectural revival, and that the bold and vigorous pioneering represented by such leaders as Wright in America, Le Corbusier in France, Oud in Holland, and Gropius in Germany is destined to become increasingly influential.

The present struggle between traditionalists and radicals has revealed an amazing chaos in architectural theories and ideals, and the very success of the "New Pioneers" makes it of increasing importance to separate what is salutary in their theories from what is dubious. Contempt of servile imitation or servile "adaptation" of past styles; insistence that the first thing to be considered in designing a new structure is its function, and that design and materials must be such as to enable it to serve that function most efficiently; insistence that materials must be used logically and genuinely (that steel must not parade as wood or concrete blocks as stone), and that each material should be given its highest inherent expressive value; that no pillars or heavy masonry should be used without genuine structural reason—in short, the insistence that our architecture must cease to be falsely historical, "picturesque," or reminiscent, and that a true style of architecture must grow out of a method of construction—all this is sound and healthy. But some of these ideals have been carried to questionable extremes: antagonism toward *all* ornament and decoration; insistence that *all* structure be revealed, and hostility toward *all* traditionalism.

It is the extreme left wing of the functionalists, represented by Le Corbusier, Oud, and Gropius, who are consciously anti-decorative, who insist on a functional or structural reason for *every* detail. This anti-decorative bias has certain easily understandable historic grounds. Inappropriate decoration borrowed from some alien historic style, gingerbread, cheap machine imitation of handicraft, have combined to make most decoration suspect, at the same time that we are beginning to recognize the inherent beauty of the smooth polished surfaces made possible by the machine. Yet even the best of the "New Pioneer" homes, those, for example, designed by Gropius, make a fetish of nakedness and barrenness, and lack even that symmetry and balance that are possessed by the machines—automobiles, airplanes, liners—they are supposed to emulate.

It must be said for the extreme functionalists—and in this lies their greatest contribution—that their purpose is not, as is so widely supposed, to reduce architecture to "mere" engineering, but to raise engineering itself to an aesthetic activity. Among the achievements illustrated in Mr. Cheney's book, this has been brilliantly done in the hangars at Orly designed by Freyssinet, in the *Bauhaus* by Gropius, in the bathhouse interior by Bonnier, in the Grandfey viaduct at Fribourg, and in other instances. The ideal of giving engineering an aesthetic expression is not, of course, entirely new. It was reflected in the Brooklyn Bridge in 1883, and even in the Roman viaducts of two thousand years ago. What is significant is the revival, the extension, and the insistence upon this ideal. It is mistaken, however, to suppose that every revelation of structural means must result in an aesthetic gain *ipso facto*. The steel-frame skyscraper, for example, is no more improved by protruding ribs than a chorus girl is. It is open to question whether the

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aesthetic pleasure which we take in skyscrapers that accentuate the vertical lines is really the result of the fact that such lines "express" the structure or whether it is merely that they emphasize the verticality of the building as a whole. The twelfth-century Campanile at Venice, which had no steel structure, emphasized the vertical lines precisely as our latest skyscrapers do. The vertical emphasis of skyscrapers seldom falls solely on the upright girders or indicates their real width; it is more likely to be placed with an eye to the window lines. The actual undraped skeleton of a skyscraper, in fact, is not vertical but cubical; and when Mr. Cheney indorses the present practice of setting the cross-floor girders slightly back on the ground that this gives the upright lines "fullest structural validity," one naturally asks whether this is not virtually denying "structural validity" to the horizontal lines—whether the practice isn't, to use one of Mr. Cheney's favorite words in discussing conventional architecture, "dishonest." The truth seems to be that the question of structural revelation cannot be reduced to doctrinaire rules. As Santayana, in his "Reason in Art," sensibly reminds us:

> Maxims in art are pernicious; beauty is here the only commandment . . . To take any mechanism whatever and merely because it is actual or necessary to insist that it is worth exhibiting, and that by divine decree it shall be pronounced beautiful, is to be quite at sea in moral philosophy.

The final danger of the new architectural pioneers is their obsessive fear of "leaning on the past." They are naturally obliged to do this technologically, for without the technological discoveries of the past their buildings could not exist. But they scorn even the faintest *aesthetic* suggestions from the past. This attitude, however, is not likely to be held indefinitely. Architecture is more than machinery, and the architectural tradition is richer than the engineering tradition. The architect, like the painter, the musician, or the poet, must absorb the traditions of his calling if only to achieve a genuine originality.

HENRY HAZLITT

"Czar" Reed

Thomas B. Reed: Parliamentarian. By William A. Robinson. Dodd, Mead and Company. $5.

PROFESSOR ROBINSON'S new biography of "Czar" Reed is a competent piece of work, though I am afraid that the extravagant praise he lavishes on his hero will fall on deaf ears. Reed had a mordant wit and undoubtedly was an honest man: both refreshing qualities in an age, happily past, that did honor to its Grants, Blaines, Garfields, McKinleys, and Camerons. Reed often turned the shafts of his invective on the well-meaning Populists, which was cruel as well as stupid; while his integrity was largely of the negative sort, for though he was bitterly opposed to the Spanish-American War and the acquisition of the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands, he refused to lead a popular clamor against any of these policies.

Otherwise, Reed was a Republican standpatter of the customary stripe. He was a New England high protectionist, a gold bug, a zealous friend of the Civil War veteran, and he was opposed to governmental regulation of railroads and industry. In an era that saw the flowering of Carnegie, Armour, and Gates, he refused to believe that any such thing as monopoly existed. To agrarian and labor problems he apparently never gave an instant's thought. He sat in the House of Representatives from 1877 to 1899 and as Speaker wielded the gavel over three Congresses, the Fifty-first, the Fifty-fourth, and the Fifty-fifth. Future generations of Americans will remember Reed as the man who debased the lower House from one of the most important deliberative assemblies in the world to a gathering of anonymous time-serving politicians. Calhoun, Clay, Webster, John Quincy Adams, John Randolph, Lincoln, Stevens, Dick Bland, and Abram Hewitt had once graced its floors; after Reed promulgated his new rules in 1890 the House was to see only timid hacks who obeyed the party mandates humbly and were thankful for the occasional favors from the pork barrel that were thrown them. Professor Robinson seems to think that this achievement of Reed's will number the gentleman from Maine among the imperishably great, but then, Professor Robinson may have his own ideas about the true role of parliamentary bodies.

LOUIS M. HACKER

This Mathematical Universe

The Mysterious Universe. By Sir James Jeans. The Macmillan Company. $2.25.

THAT great physicist, Sir Oliver Lodge, believes that after a man dies he becomes a ghost. Sir James Jeans, eminent mathematical physicist (not "astronomer," as is so frequently stated in press and pulpit), believes—or half believes—that man is a ghost both after he dies and before he is dead. For him even the mysterious universe itself is a ghost. He calls his ghost Mind—fragments of the universal Mind (Ghost), the Supreme Mathematician and Great Architect.

All this we learn from the concluding chapter of his latest work, appropriately entitled In the Deep Waters. Very deep; so deep, indeed, that the science of the preceding chapters is buried beneath the flood of verbalism, and the man of science emerges at the surface, head only half above the deluge, as dreamer, mystic, one of a tripartite hybrid, in which the genes of Plato, Bishop Berkeley, and Jeans the twentieth-century authority on thermodynamics have somehow merged into one pair of chromosomes.

In quieter moments Sir James is a stickler for "the method of science," which, as everyone knows, is concerned with accurate observation, rigorous experimentation, exact measurement, logical inference on the basis of ascertained facts, leading to helpful working hypotheses or theories explanatory—tentatively at least—of the facts observed. And his first four chapters are written in this spirit of science, in conformity with the great principle laid down by William of Occam: "We must not assume the existence of any entity until we are compelled to do so." Jeans fully agrees, as a competent scientist, with Newton's first rule of reasoning in philosophy (from the "Principia"): "We are to admit no more causes of natural things than such as are both true and efficient to explain their appearance. . . . Nature is pleased with simplicity, and affects not the pomp of superfluous causes." The place to seek causes that are both necessary and sufficient bases for explanations is among phenomena observed or weighed or measured. Jeans looks for them instead in the deep waters of Plato and Berkeley. (I am not referring here to that part of Chapter V which deals directly with the mathematical consequences of relativity—though this is verbalistic enough!)

Passing from the glimmering abstractions of relativist philosophy, Sir James states that "the universe appears to have been designed by a pure mathematician"—that is, the universe so appears to a pure mathematician. No doubt the theoretical chemist, electrical engineer, or biologist who should happen to perceive the evidences of a Designer within his particular province of study would almost as inevitably find that the universe "appears" to have been designed by a chemist, an electrical engineer, or a biologist. One is not surprised, therefore, to

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hear a mathematician say, as Sir James does in one place:

> It would now seem to be beyond dispute that in some way nature is more closely allied to the concepts of pure mathematics than to those of biology or engineering, and even if the mathematical interpretation is only a third man-made mold, it at least fits nature incomparably better than the two previously tried.

The natural scientists have failed in their "man-made molds." On the other hand, "our efforts to interpret nature in terms of the concepts of mathematics have so far proved brilliantly successful."

This despite the fact that mathematical physicists never before in the history of the world have witnessed a period of interpretation wherein confusion has been worse confounded! One of the most distinguished of mathematicians, Heisenberg, tells us that nature "abhors accuracy and precision above all things." And nature, therefore, permits a certain "margin of error"—the Creator-Mathematician having, somehow, slipped in his perfect "design."

A few years ago Sir William Bragg put the case as it then was in this ironic form:

> We now teach the wave theory of light on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and the quantum theory on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.

Today Sir William would have to add evening classes in order to include the teaching of the "wave-mechanics" of Schrödinger and Louis de Broglie and the Heisenberg-Dirac "uncertainty principle" (on alternate evenings), with its implications, by which electron-waves may be regarded

> merely as a sort of symbolic representation of our knowledge as to the probable state and position of an electron. If so, they change as our knowledge changes, and so become largely subjective.

Of the "margin of error," Jeans himself says:

> If we try to get within this margin, nature will give us no help: she knows [that is to say, the "Universal Mind," the "Great Architect" knows] nothing, apparently, of absolute measurements.

Hence the Heisenberg "principle of indeterminacy," under which our good old friend "free will" may be restored—according to the new metaphysical physics of Jeans and Eddington—to its time-honored place in the best of all possible worlds, made in the image of the "pure mathematician," a world in which *causation*—determinacy—has no place.

Sir James admits that *some* of the concepts with which the pure mathematician works "are taken direct from his experience of nature." The rest are, as one might say, preexistent as partial expressions—perhaps Lodge would say, "lumps in the ether"; or, as Plato has put it, "they must either have no existence at all, or else subsist in the mind of some Eternal Spirit"—or Eternal Ghost. Sir James feels that

> . . . the universe can be best pictured, although still very imperfectly and inadequately, as consisting of pure thought, the thought of what, for want of a wider word, we must describe as a mathematical thinker.

Many persons who are not mathematical thinkers but just plain realists will find all of Chapter V mighty diverting, and some of it informing. The four preceding chapters are in a different category—they are excellent popular presentations of the latest views put forward by modern physical science, including much astronomical data of great interest. Jeans has only Eddington as peer in his ability to present the highly technical problems and discoveries of modern physics in a manner understandable to all intelligent laymen.

The book under review is offered by Sir James as a supplement to his very popular volume of 1929, "The Universe Around Us"—itself a simplification of his great work of 1928, "Astronomy and Cosmogony." In his former books (with slight exceptions) Jeans—who is, by the way, sometime professor of applied mathematics in Princeton University, later lecturer in applied mathematics in the University of Cambridge—scrupulously avoided the introduction of metaphysical discussions, writing always as a scientist, not as a layman-philosopher. Doubtless some of his admirers will not applaud his present incursion into the domain of what Dr. David Starr Jordan calls "sciosophy," where, as Henshaw Ward would say, "thobbing" takes the place of realistic discussion of established facts.

MAYNARD SHIPLEY

Short Stories by Novelists

Tales Told by Simpson. By May Sinclair. The Macmillan Company. $2.

Certain People. By Edith Wharton. D. Appleton and Company. $2.

Morals for Moderns. By Elmer Davis. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $2.

IN general what may be said for these authors as novelists may be said for them as short-story writers. None of them is a novice or an initiator. They each transfer a well-formed, facile style, which by long practice has become a convention with them, to another medium without any serious results to either style or medium. Of the three Miss Sinclair is the ablest, treating the short story as an independent form, a distinct aesthetic expression capable within its brief and brittle outline of manifold variety and richness. Mrs. Wharton's book, with a single noteworthy exception, is shockingly third rate, and "Morals for Moderns" is a lesson and a warning to all students of fiction writing.

With the shadow of "Mary Olivier" still about her Miss Sinclair continues to depend on psychology, slightly abnormal psychology, for her material—for her incidents and effects. She traces the barren bitterness of disillusion, the mental buffoonery which fame evokes, the devastation which a cold, conscientious, beautiful woman can cause. Her cynicism prohibits her emotion from deepening into tragedy. Out of the dark fabric of men's minds she makes patterns of farce and pathos. Because she is so intensely modern, because her method is so strictly scientific, her insight has the semblance of dissection. This spirit is special to her. From older writers such as De Maupassant and O. Henry she has learned much of her technique, but the relish with which she reveals the subtleties of her observation, the precision of language and attitude, the fatality of outlook are her own. In "Tales Told by Simpson" Miss Sinclair finally seems to be climbing out of the morass into which in her recent books she has sunk.

There is no excuse for "Certain People" except what resides in the quality of After Holbein. The two mystery stories are incredibly naive and maladroit, the medieval romance is little more than a literary exercise, and Atrophy suffers from the success of After Holbein. The latter story preserves in miniature all the essentials of Mrs. Wharton's talent. It deals with death and decay among New York society leaders of the older generation. It is a prism—delicate, transparent, colorful—containing a whole social order, a perfect imprint of a vanishing race. From behind its worn-out forms, its self-imposed seriousness, importance, and virtue Mrs. Wharton draws whatever humanity it has. She draws it conventionally so far as style goes and painlessly so far as ideas are concerned, but she draws with mature grace and rich understanding.

Just what ethical contribution Mr. Davis (or his publishers) felt that this collection of stories could make when adorned by such a title and the quotation which has been

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inserted as a foreword is doubtful. In view of the caliber of the stories the title has the effect of cheap advertising, of trying to make some innocuous tales pass for philosophy. The tales are actually "problem stories" of the type one finds in magazines with a circulation of a million. They run the gamut of the marital and extra-marital difficulties which beset even the nicest middle-class people today. They are accurate as far as they go, and they all click. They have the proper amount of suspense, fast dialogue, character, and neat endings prescribed by correspondence-school courses, but they are pseudo. Mr. Davis neither ventures beyond the shallows in which his characters founder nor does he suggest a solution. The truth is that his shallows are a sham. Difficulties such as he describes are always more complex, never so pleasant or adaptable to solution, and always more ruthless. FLORENCE CODMAN

The Hoosier Poet

Letters of James Whitcomb Riley. Edited by William Lyon Phelps. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $5.

ONE of the unwritten sections in V. L. Parrington's "The Beginnings of Critical Realism in the United States" was to have been a treatment of James Whitcomb Riley under the title Whitcomb Riley and Folk Romance. We are fortunately able to know just how Parrington intended to treat Riley and his successors, for on pages 373-4 of the book referred to we read:

> I. The Romantic Interpretation of the Small Town. A hold-over from an earlier period. Derives from Riley; elaborated and defended by Meredith Nicholson, "The Valley of Democracy" (1918). According to this theory the Middle Western village is: (1) a land of economic well-being, uncursed by poverty and unspoiled by wealth; (2) a land of "folksiness"—the village a great family in its neighborliness, friendliness, sympathy; (3) primarily middle-class and therefore characteristically American, wholesome, and human in spite of its prosaic shortcomings; (4) the home of American democracy, dominated by the spirit of equality, where men are measured by their native qualities.

Parrington did not have Riley's letters to work with when he made that tentative outline, but they confirm his views and there is nothing to add.

I suppose that there is not an American living who does not in a vague way know some of Riley's poetry. If nothing more, it is a knowledge of the ending of "Little Orphant Annie":

> An' the Gobble-uns 'll git you
> Ef you
> Dont
> Watch
> Out!

Or it is the line: "When the frost is on the punkin and the fodder's in the shock." Or, "Oh! the old swimmin'-hole! whare the crick so still and deep . . ." Am I exaggerating when I say that all Americans know this much of Riley's work?

But assuming that most Americans know Riley's verse in a vague sort of way, I advise them not to read Riley's letters. Let a vague, pleasant impression remain. Don't reread the verse. Don't read the letters. The disillusionment is too horrible to bear. It is not so much that the ideas Parrington saw stemming from Riley seem hopelessly uncritical, but that he was such a vacuous old fellow himself. These letters are as devoid of intellectual content as a drum. All they give us is a kindly man with a gift for a sort of rhyme and a wide and accurate knowledge of Hoosier dialect. His critical capacity never got ripe; it was always rotten; and one of his major flights was to call Ella Wheeler Wilcox a "highly intellectual woman." It was not that he failed to look up, or down for that matter, but that he failed to look at all. He took the world as his most good-natured neighbor found it, and cast the atmosphere of Thanksgiving Dinner over it, specializing on the period when the hard cider began to work. The best writer he ever helped was Booth Tarkington, and the worst is so incredibly bad as to be not worth mentioning. If Riley stands as a sort of ancestor for Meredith Nicholson's "Valley of Democracy" he is also an ancestor for Edgar Guest. He never rose above Nicholson but he frequently sank below Guest.

Yet he was a nice old man personally. He could swear as lyrically as Mark Twain, but unlike Twain he was somewhat pious. He got drunk on occasion, on whiskey. He was fond of children both in his verse and in actuality (not always the case, so it seems). He was indefatigable in encouraging the literary efforts of all who could read and write. He had a fine sense of humor. As a platform entertainer he could be relied upon to give a good show. And he truly desired God to "bless us every one."

That's all. That's Whitcomb Riley.

Professor Phelps was the logical editor for his letters.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

Books in Brief

A Short History of Julia. By Isa Glenn. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

In 1907 the de Graffenrieds, mother and daughters, live in the atmosphere of dignity and delicacy suitable to Southern ladies of the old aristocratic stock. There is no man in the house and only the Negro servants supply a touch of basic humanity and emotional exuberance as a check against a growing excess of refinement. Between the de Graffenrieds and the Negroes there are the barriers of racial caste and the wall of fear that lies behind the familiar external affection. The younger sister marries, marries the man the elder, Julia, loves and should have had. Mrs. de Graffenried dies. Julia, for all her beauty, is left alone in the old house, dependent on her mother's bridge-playing set for society, watching the younger generation grow up around her. Her sister's daughter, still in her teens, steals Julia's second man from under her eyes. Isa Glenn could hardly write a book which was not intelligent or one which did not make a conscientious approach toward truth, both of setting and of character. But her latest novel seems a little thin and a little obvious after "Transport."

Burnt Offering. By Jeanne Galzy. Introduction and Translation by Jacques Le Clerq. Brentano's. $2.50.

The Prix Brentano for 1930 has been awarded to a woman novelist who in "Burnt Offering" has achieved a delicate, mature, perceptive, and spiritual story. Marie Pascal is a teacher. Through her classroom year after year passes a procession of young girls, girls just on the outer verge of childhood. And then after nine years it comes about that the diffused mother-love integrates to attach itself to one little girl who charms Marie first with a little essay on "The Saddest Day of My Life." The longing of the still young but subdued teacher, the responsive adoration of the lonely little girl, lonely because her father has died and her mother is in love, are rendered with a poignant sadness. Other characters are sketched in lightly but with a skilled pencil—teachers, children, Annette's mother, and her mother's lover. And the inner drama marches beside an outer drama that carries one along without a stop to the end.

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The Back-to-Backs. By J. C. Grant. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $2.

This is a furious picture of life among the English coal miners. Had Mr. Grant contented himself with a simple presentation of detail, he would have wholly claimed our horror and anger. Unfortunately, however, he has swathed his detail in hysterical prose, at once crude and overwrought. His story as story is sparse, dull, and conventionally perceived; his satire is feeble and trite; he irritates by trying so obviously to shock us into sensibility, and he strains our emotional credulity by gratuitous melodrama. In short, he commits almost all the sins of the avowedly propagandistic novelist and his book has all the weakness of propagandistic distortion. Nevertheless, so strongly does Mr. Grant feel his subject, so intense is his rage, that through all the faults (presumably those of immaturity) certain passages of unforgettable horror emerge.

Best Seller. By N. O. Youmans. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $2.

"Best Seller" is, more or less, what a novel about the publishing business is expected to be. That is the best one can say for it. As satire it is as effective as any heavy-handed slapping about of a dummy figure labeled to suit could ever be. No one can possibly miss the point, for everyone knows what the point is supposed to be: that publishing is now in a class with the manufacturing and ballyhooing of soap or beans. The figures through whom the author makes this fact more than evident are stock-in-trade, staple products. Occasionally their conversations are amusing, and their drinking manners, certainly, are more natural than those of the characters in Mr. Van Vechten's "Parties." One of them even has pertinent remarks to make about the Negro racket in publishing. But the characters are there only to adorn the tale and point the less than side-splitting moral. The most interesting thing about the novel is somewhat external to its comments: the methods used to put it over are almost precisely those used in the book to put over "One Woman's Life."

The Amazon. By Elliot Paul. Horace Liveright. $2.50.

The war furnished material for this book, but it is not in any sense a war novel. It is rather an exercise in fantasy and naturalism—a blend of Poe's tale of ratiocination with a study of character on the mechanistic level. Its naturalism is not new, and the tale of ratiocination has long since become banal in the detective-story class. The combination of the two is something of a tour de force, but it is difficult to see its contemporary value.

An Introduction to Social Anthropology. By Clark Wissler. Henry Holt and Company. $3.50.

Anthropology has never had a textbook. The books that have been pressed into service are published lectures and books on special subjects, like Lowie's "Primitive Society" and "Primitive Religion." Dr. Wissler's systematic survey is therefore exceedingly welcome and has an importance the general run of textbooks do not possess. Because it is a textbook, however, and takes very seriously all the current requirements for the textbook, it is dull anthropology. Its virtue is, as Dr. Wissler desires it to be, the minimum of commitment, and even in subjects to which he himself has made telling contributions the matter is soft-pedaled into insignificance. For this is a volume of generalizations under each of a few hundred captions, and any systematization takes precedence over concrete material. It is the law of the textbook. One is driven to remember William James's belief that extensive acquaintance with human facts is more enlightening than any generalization, no matter how admirable. Nevertheless, we need systematic surveys and are grateful when they are provided.

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Problems of the Pacific, 1929. Edited by J. B. Condliffe. University of Chicago Press. $5.

The published proceedings of the third conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, held at Kyoto a year ago, includes summaries of the round-table discussions and texts of some of the research papers. The summaries of discussions—upon problems of population and industrialization in the East, upon the revision of the "unequal treaties" with China, upon Manchuria—are suggestive but inevitably dull. The most valuable documents concern Manchuria. Chu Hsiao's statistical survey of its resources, industries, trade, railways, and immigration and Walter Young's paper upon Chinese colonization are of particular importance.

Films

The Travel Picture

THE experiment of a special theater for camera news launched over a year ago by the News Reel Theater must be pronounced a complete success, at least if the attendances at the theater can be taken as a criterion. The fact is very gratifying for those who believe in a differentiated cinema, a cinema that sets itself the aim of satisfying the more or less special interests and tastes of the various sections of the public. Under this head comes the interest in educational subjects, and if the example of the News Reel Theater finds imitators, as it should, there is no doubt that a theater devoted exclusively to educational films will be generously supported by the public.

At present the Cameo Theater bids fair to develop into such a specialized house. So far it has given particular prominence to travel pictures, of which "The Wild Men of Kalihari," following almost on the heels of "Africa Speaks," has been the latest exhibit. Other theaters, too, are of course showing travel pictures, and it is a significant fact that the same week that saw "The Wild Men of Kalihari" at the Cameo also saw "The Hunt" at the Roxy and "The Mediterranean Cruise" at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse. On the other hand, it must be admitted that interesting as some travel films undoubtedly are, they are apt to pall when one has seen a few of them. The trouble lies in the pictures themselves. Even when they do not repeat one another (natives and wild animals of "the dark continent" have been done almost to death) there are inherent limitations in the conventional type of travel film which make it largely ineffective. For one thing, it is not enough for a film to show a series of views and scenes that are interesting in real life. This is done in "The Mediterranean Cruise," a picture that somewhat suffers from poor photography. Scenery and people, however beautiful or unfamiliar they may be, can never impress the eye from the screen if they are nothing more than camera records devoid of any unifying concept or emotion. A travel film does not need a story in the sense of a plot, but it needs one in the sense of a connected exposition of a scientific idea, of an emotional narrative, or of a pictorial vision. A similar criticism applies to "The Wild Men of Kalihari," which claims to set on record the exploration of a scientific expedition, but manages only to romp inconsequently about the African continent to wind up in a rather flat account of the Kalihari Bushmen. How much more interesting the picture could have been if it had tried to connect the Bushmen with the story of the recent finds of prehistoric human remains in South Africa!

There is, of course, a way of enhancing interest in a travel film by selecting dramatic episodes, as "The Hunt" does with a fair measure of success by showing an Indian drive-hunt with a force of 150 elephants closing in on 3 tigers. Or one can

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Edited by Stuart A. Rice

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†The Man in Possession—Booth—45 St., W. of B'way.
‡Three's a Crowd—Selwyn—W. 42 St.
†Tonight or Never—Belasco—44 St., E. of B'way.
†Twelfth Night—See advertisement.
†Vinegar Tree—Playhouse—48 St. E. of B'way.

Films

Big House, beginning Dec 6; Moby Dick, beginning Dec. 10—The Plaza—58 St., E. of Madison Ave.
Her Man, beginning Dec. 6; Big House, beginning Dec. 10—Little Carnegie—57 St., E. of 7 Ave.
Holiday, beginning Saturday, Dec. 6; Bride No. 68, beginning Wednesday, Dec. 10—5th Ave. Playhouse—13 St.
News Reel—Embassy—B'way and 46 St.
Ver Klungen Traume (German)—8 St. Playhouse—W. of 5 Ave.
Zwei Herzen Im 3-4 Takt (German Film)—55 St. Playhouse.

Lectures and Discussions

Prohibition, a Violation of the Design of Life.—Sun. Aft., Dec. 14.—See Advertisement.
"Should British Rule in India Be Ended?"—Community Church, Tues. eve., Dec. 9 at 8:15.
Rand School of Social Science.—See Advertisement.
League for Industrial Democracy.—See Advertisement.
Why Marry? Friendship Tours.—See Advertisement.
The People's Institute.—See Advertisement.

* Drama. † Comedy. ‡ Musical.

LEAGUE for INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

NEW YORK

December 13th—Luncheon at 12:45 P.M., Hotel Woodstock
Subject: **CHARITY AND THE NEEDS OF THE POOR.**
Speakers: George A. Hastings, Secretary, State Charities Aid Association; Abraham Epstein, Executive Director, American Association for Old Age Security; Harry F. Ward, Professor at Union Theological Seminary; Reinhold Niebuhr, Chairman.
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Make reservations at the L.I.D. office, 112 East 19th Street.
December 28th—Annual Dinner
Speakers: Morris Hillquit, "A. E." (George Edward Russell), Harry W. Laidler. Chairman, Norman Thomas.
December 29th and 30th—Intercollegiate Winter Conference
Subject: **UNEMPLOYMENT.**

PHILADELPHIA

December 13th—Luncheon at 12:45, Boothby's Restaurant
Subject: **CAN BUSINESS BE CIVILIZED?**
Speakers: Dr. John Henry Gray, former President, American Economics Association; Paul Blanshard, writer, Executive Director, City Affairs Committee of New York; Henry Tatnall Brown, President Brown Brothers Paper Company. Chairman, Professor Karl Scholz of the University of Pennsylvania.
Tickets: Members $1.00, Non-members $1.25.
Make reservations at the L.I.D. office, 413 So. Carlisle Street.

DETROIT

December 12th—Webster Hall, 8 P.M.
Subject: **THE EXTENSION OF SOCIAL SERVICES—RECREATION AND HEALTH.**

CHICAGO

December 20th—Luncheon at 12:30, Men's Club
Subject: **OUR INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES, or WHO RUNS CHICAGO.**
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January 2nd-4th—Intercollegiate Winter Conference
Subject: **THE RADICAL FADE OUT. CAN LIBERALISM SURVIVE GRADUATION?**

enhance dramatic situations by faking them, as was done in "Africa Speaks." But by far the better way of improving the travel film is that of using the camera in order to illustrate an intellectual concept or to relate an emotional experience. A scientist in particular is overdue on the screen, on which anthropology, ethnography, and zoology would be much more effective than the rambling observations of amateur travelers. In fact, the entire field of popular science should be brought on the screen for the edification of the man in the street. And it should be done by scientific institutions in cooperation with film manufacturers rather than by the method which seems to be invading this particular field. The advertiser is awakening to the possibilities of the screen. Within the same week there have been "The Mediterranean Cruise" manufactured by a great German shipping company and advertising its boat service, and a short film at the Rivoli, a revival of the early news reel, which is presented "by the courtesy" of a well-known cigarette manufacturing company. The scientific short film lends itself easily to such uses of publicity, as has been demonstrated in several pictures shown in the smaller theaters. The question is how far this development will go. It is only to be hoped that the practice will be discouraged and that the insidious influence of the advertisers will be prevented from bringing the movies to a still lower level than they have already reached.

"Morocco" (Rivoli) may be recommended as fair entertainment; "Just Imagine" (Roxy) is decidedly not.

ALEXANDER BAKSHY

Drama

The Third Mrs. Tanqueray

WHEN Paula Tanqueray discovered that her former lover was about to marry her stepdaughter she walked slowly from the stage and committed suicide. Audiences wept at the woman's fate and applauded her tact and discretion in difficult circumstances. But by a shift in theatrical manners an almost identical situation furnishes the hilarious ending for the second act of Paul Osborn's new farce, "The Vinegar Tree."

Twenty years ago, and maybe ten, this rowdy entertainment would have sent a New York audience into the night suffused with blushes. But if anybody changed color at the Playhouse opening I was not in a position to observe the phenomenon. I think that theatrical reformers from John Haynes Holmes up and down are inaccurate in estimating what seems to them a saturnalia along Broadway. At least I generally hear the theory advanced that greedy commercial managers are debasing the minds of the public. Did anybody ever stop to think that possibly the public is debasing the theatrical managers? Few producers of my acquaintance are signally endowed with the gift of leadership. They follow where the patrons lead.

If shows seem much franker than a few seasons ago it is because playgoers have demanded more license, and I must add more honesty. Personally, I think an increase in ribaldry of expression is a healthy sign. I would term no state of mind cleanly if it were founded on nothing more than a fear and horror of a few phrases. Yet the mere admission of certain shock words might be insufficient proof that a large number of persons are thinking through inhibitions into cleared ground. I rather suspect that there is also an actual difference in point of view. One hates to cry "revolution" incautiously, but if some timid generalization may be founded upon audience reaction, New York grows calmer about sex. It no longer sees red because some unfortunate wears a scarlet letter.

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Mr. John V. Dittemore
December 28—ARMAMENTS AND WORLD PEACE
Mrs. Mary Sayles Moore
January 4—SCIENCE AND RELIGION
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SATURDAY FORUM ON CURRENT EVENTS
JEROME DAVIS — December 6—2 P. M.
Professor Social Science Yale University
"Russia Today"
JOHN A. FITCH — Monday, December 8—8:30 P. M.
New York School of Social Work
"American Social Legislation"
MORRIS HILLQUIT — Wednesday, December 10—8:30 P. M.
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"Socialist Administration of the Capitalist State"
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In saying that "The Vinegar Tree" uses for farce the situation which Pinero employed for tragedy I did not mean to suggest a comic suicide. When Laura Murdock is informed that Leone plans to marry Max Lawrence she does not seek gun or poison. Instead, she clasps her hands and sitting solitary upon the stage mutters brokenly "Incest!" The curtain falls and the audience laughs heartily.

Now a reformer might say, indeed some one of them will, that a plot which includes the possible marriage between a middle-aged man and the daughter of his former mistress is an ugly and unspeakable thing. I would reply that any such criticism must depend upon the mood and treatment. But I hold that hearty laughter is far to be preferred in such a situation than sudden suicide. If the question of immorality is at stake I hold Pinero to be the guilty party. He put before his audience a wholly irrational piece of conduct and succeeded in convincing the playgoers of his day that here was logical and inevitable tragedy. Surely we can arrive at some saner attitude toward love and life if we do not insist on treating every problem as tragic and insoluble.

But the moral which I have attempted to draw from "The Vinegar Tree" is not part of the author's intention. His object is one of mockery. His play might be called a "sophisticated farce" if that phrase were not so commonly used as one of reproach. It is generally employed to describe such entertainments as are unusually hard-boiled and immoral. "The Vinegar Tree" is neither. It is pleasant, witty, satirical, and fast moving save in the second act, which slumps somewhat below the general level. Your Aunt Minnie might not like it but she should, for after all it does not endeavor to haul down the older verities but scoffs at the newer school of self-expression. The young girl who feels that she really ought to have experience before marriage is treated as a comic figure and her mother's willingness to seek her lost youth is sketched as farcical. Moreover, the author follows the American convention that while characters in plays may talk about affairs they must not have them.

Mary Boland as Laura gives a fine performance. A captious critic might point out that she is possibly a shade too sure of all her points, but I think this is an ungracious exception, since she misses none. A young actress named Helen Brooks is enormously good because she plays her comic role as if it were intense and serious and never permits the audience to know that she is in on the joke. It is the better way. I have seen too many farces spoiled by an overeagerness on the part of the performers to collaborate in the laughter.

HEYWOOD BROUN

Those who have seen that finished and delightful comedy, "Topaze," from the French of Marcel Pagnol, will be disappointed in "Marseilles" (Gilbert Miller Theater) from the same author. Partly this disappointment may be the result of a poor English version (the play has been "adapted" by Sidney Howard), but to some extent it is inevitable because Pagnol leans more on stock materials—his central situation, for example, is that of a youngster who is torn between his desire to go to sea and his fondness and obligation toward the girl who loves him. None the less, the play as it stands is rich in humor and full of admirable touches, and it is supported by an excellent—if not always convincingly French—cast, including Alexander Kirkland, Alison Skipworth, Dudley Digges, Guy Kibbee, Hubert Druce, and Frances Torchiana.

"Oh, Promise Me" (Morosco) is a fast-moving and boisterous travesty on the breach-of-promise racket and its tabloid echoes. There are no subtleties in it, but the dialogue is remarkably natural and the characterization is as malicious as Ring Lardner's.

H. H.

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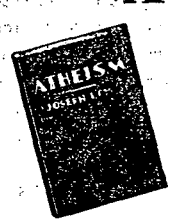

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Other Resorts on Page iii

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The British Empire in Conference

By J. A. HOBSON

THE Imperial Conference in London has ended with an outpouring of sentimental rhetoric covering an almost complete failure of substantial results. On the constitutional side some minor steps have been taken toward removing the last remnants of British parliamentary control over dominion legislation and placing each dominion in an identical relation with Britain itself toward the Crown. General Hertzog, the South African Premier, in a speech at Dublin even expressed a desire that this doctrine of absolute equality should be marked by substituting the term kingdom for dominion, though the proposal would scarcely fit the mood of the Irish, hankering after a republic. The principle of establishing an *ad hoc* tribunal for settling disputes that may arise between nations of the Empire was accepted, though the form and procedure of such tribunal were not settled. No final decision was reached upon the question of the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. But in substance the dominions now may be considered as separate autonomous nations under a common Crown, taking voluntary counsel with one another on matters of common interest, but each free to follow its own course of action. In form this may appear to make for disintegration of the Empire, but in fact it is the only way of preserving any real community of policy in world affairs. It is the substitution of voluntary for legal bonds.

Less satisfactory were the results of the economic discussions. Some of the dominion representatives appear to have come to London with the hope and expectation of getting a reversal of our free-trade policy in return for some quite inconsiderable promises of enlarged preference upon their part. Mr. Bennett's offer of 3 per cent additional preference on British imports, following the recently increased Canadian tariff, was a really farcical endeavor to catch a whale with a minnow. Discussion soon made it evident that none of the dominions was prepared to forego the development of manufacturing industries which would, as soon as practicable, displace the goods they now import from us. The preferences they offer are mere interim arrangements. They will prefer our machines and other manufactured goods until they can fulfil their own ambition of becoming self-sufficient economic systems. In return for this precarious gain they invited us to abandon our free-trade policy by giving them preferences in the supply of the foods and raw materials which we have hitherto drawn from the competitive markets of the world. A fatuous proposal, though it has the support of the Conservative Party in this country, while even a sprinkling of Labor politicians play with it! Though the proportion of our food imports from the Empire has considerably increased since 1913, about three-fifths are still derived from foreign sources, and our dependence upon foreign supplies of such essential raw materials as cotton, timber, iron ore, and petroleum is almost absolute.

It is argued that fixed agreements for solid preference to empire goods would evoke large supplies, and that the Empire would make rapid advances toward self-sufficiency. But Britain cannot engage in such risky policies. We are not willing to jeopardize our vital needs for some problematic enlargements of imperial supplies. Take wheat and beef, the two first articles recommended for bulk purchase within the Empire. Last year, owing to small imperial surpluses, we drew three-fourths of our imported wheat from foreign countries, and the greater part of our beef came from South America. Mr. Snowden, who is a staunch free-trader, presented an adamantine opposition to any extension of the existing preference, and the Government made no concession beyond an undertaking to maintain existing preferences for the next three years. In the present financial embarrassment it would have been difficult in any case to remit any existing source of revenue.

Some discussion took place on marketing propaganda and organization for consumption of dominion products within the United Kingdom, and the Empire Marketing Board has been put upon a more solid financial basis. The Imperial Economic Committee has also been reconstituted and will examine and report upon any economic questions which the dominions may agree to refer to it.

Last and not least, the failure to reach tangible economic results has been covered by a proposal to adjourn the "economic features" of the conference to a meeting at Ottawa to be held within the next twelve months. At this meeting would be discussed the questions of wheat quotas, import boards, and bulk purchases put forward by the Labor Government in lieu of protective tariffs but in forms too inchoate for elaboration before the London conference.

If, as is conceivable, and even probable, the Labor Government falls before next summer and is replaced by a Conservative administration devoted to a protective policy, the proposed Ottawa conference may prove to be a conspicuous landmark in the annals of human folly.

Contributors to This Issue

FLORENCE KELLEY is the general secretary of the National Consumers' League.

DREW PEARSON is a Washington correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun*.

WILLIE SNOW ETHRIDGE is on the staff of the Macon *Telegraph and News*.

LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL contributes verse to various periodicals.

LOUIS M. HACKER is engaged on a work dealing with the recent political and economic history of the United States.

MAYNARD SHIPLEY is president of the Science League of America.

FLORENCE CODMAN is a regular contributor of reviews to *The Nation*.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN is the author of "Bitter Bierce."

J. A. HOBSON is one of the foremost British economists and a contributing editor of *The Nation*.

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